Coded Racism and Community Resistance in the Anti-W5 Movement

By

Patrick Wen Rui Leong

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Supervisor: Dr. Henry Yu

Committee Members: Dr. Tamara Myers and Dr. Laura Ishiguro

University of British Columbia

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Table of Contents

Preface ii
Note on Chinese Romanization iii
List of Abbreviations iv
Acknowledgements vi
Dedication viii
Introduction 1
Chapter One: A Changing Community 4
"Doctors of an Alien Culture?" 5
Building Blocks 12
Chapter Two: The Movement 23
The Spark 24
Consolidation and Resistance 33
Negotiations and Apologies 46
Chapter Three: The Significance of the Anti-W5 Movement 56
The Keys to Success 56
The Anti-W5 Legacy 61
Conclusion 70
Notes 73
Bibliography 84
Archival Sources/Unpublished Sources 84
Published Primary Sources 89
Secondary Sources 94
Appendix 97
Appendix A: Private Collection - Anti-W5 Movement Oral Histories (April 12, 2021) 97
Appendix B: List of Archival Sources in Personal Collections 98
Appendix C: Author's Transcript of CTV W5 "Campus Giveaway" 105

Preface

This thesis is an original intellectual product of the author, Patrick Wen Rui Leong. The oral history interviews were conducted under UBC Ethics Certificate number H21-00168.

Note on Chinese Romanization

Generally, I have used Hanyu Pinyin romanization for Chinese-language proper nouns and citations throughout this thesis. However, an exception was made for all personal and organization names — mostly of Cantonese origin — that were originally transcribed with Jyutping, Yale, or Hong Kong romanization systems (i.e., the Mon Sheong Foundation). Another exception is proper nouns that are more familiar to the West and difficult to recognize in Pinyin, such as Kuomintang (as opposed to *Guomindang*).

List of Abbreviations

ACCSG	Association of Chinese Canadian Students and Graduates
ACRSEA	Action Committee for Refugees from South-East Asia
AMS	Alma Mater Society
AUCC	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada
BCIT	British Columbia Institute of Technology
CAR	Committee Against Racism
CBA	Chinese Benevolent Association
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education
CCCM	Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism
CCCO	Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario
CCMA	Chinese Canadians for Mutual Advancement
CCNC	Chinese Canadian National Council
CCNCE	Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality
CHRC	Canadian Human Rights Commission
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CJCA	Canadian Japanese Citizens' Association
CMA	Canadian Medical Association
CRTC	Canadian Radiotelevision & Telecommunication Commission
CSA	Chinese Students' Association
EASS	U of T East Asian Studies Student Union
ECCSA	Erindale College Chinese Students' Association

ESL	English as a Second language
FAS	Federation of Alberta Students
FCCP	Federation of Chinese Canadian Professionals of Ontario
ISC	U of T International Student Centre
MP	Member of Parliament
MPP	Member of Provincial Parliament
NCCC	National Congress of Chinese Canadians
NDP	New Democratic Party
NUS	National Union of Students
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
PC	Progressive Conservative
SCCSA	Scarborough College Chinese Students' Association
SFU	Simon Fraser University
TCGWA	Toronto Chinese Garment Workers' Association
UBC	University of British Columbia
U of A	University of Alberta
U of S	University of Saskatchewan
U of T	University of Toronto
UTCESA	U of T Chinese Engineering Student Association
UTCSA	U of T Chinese Students' Association
UTCPS	U of T Chinese Pharmaceutical Society

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Dedication

Dedicated to my Great Grandfather, Chap Kwong Leong (梁楫光), for sparking my passion for history after I was tasked with writing a short “book” about him in the fourth grade. Leaving his home in Enping through Hong Kong, he arrived in Vancouver on September 6, 1926. He was the principal at the Kwong Gee School and active in the Yin Ping Society and Chinese Nationalist League. As secretary of the Chinese Benevolent Association, he advocated for the acceptance of Chinese immigrants in the postwar years. Thank you for your sacrifice.

Introduction

In the evening of September 30, 1979, Canadians across the country tuned in for the first episode of the season from CTV television network's W5 program, a popular weekly news magazine that had developed a reputation for its investigative journalism and cast of prominent broadcasters.[1] No one had any idea that the first segment of that Sunday's episode, entitled "Campus Giveaway," would become the spark for one of the most well-organized and large-scale protests in Chinese Canadian history. For twelve minutes, W5 host Helen Hutchinson accused "foreign students" of taking "Canadian" placements in Canadian higher education, particularly in the fields of pharmacy, medicine, engineering, and computer science.[2] Barbara Allan, the young white protagonist of W5's story, lamented about how foreign students had crushed her dreams of attending the University of Toronto (U of T) Faculty of Pharmacy. As Hutchinson delivered a series of skewed statistics to support Allan's case, the scenes in "Campus Giveaway" singled out the faces of Chinese students on campus, suggesting that they were all foreign. In reality, almost all of the students caught on camera were Canadian-born or naturalized citizens.[3]

Outrage first came from Chinese Canadian students, Chinese international students, and university administrators, who immediately discredited the false statistics used in "Campus Giveaway." The students were particularly incensed about the portrayal of all Chinese students as foreign, which struck a nerve at a time when many were asserting their Chinese Canadian identities and carving their place in the new Canadian framework of multiculturalism. They built networks with the Chinese Canadian community at large, hoping to gain support for their cause. With the help of primarily Hong Kong-born students and younger professionals, who were increasingly involved in new community organizations throughout the 1970s, they were able to

launch a national anti-W5 movement with chapters in sixteen cities from coast to coast. Building alliances with other civil rights and community organizations, ethnocultural communities, the media, and politicians, the anti-W5 activists built up an immense amount of pressure against CTV. Despite repeated attempts to support their so-called statistics and deny any racist depiction of Chinese students, the network eventually conceded to the national protests against "Campus Giveaway." On April 16, 1980, CTV issued a public apology.

For Chinese Canadian communities across the country, their victory was a watershed moment. After more than six months of tireless grassroots organizing and protests, they had obtained a full and public apology from a national media network, a first for any racialized community in Canada.[4] With an established network of activists from across the country, they capitalized upon their political momentum to establish the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality (CCNCE), in hope of providing a national umbrella organization that could defend the rights of Chinese Canadians and other ethnocultural groups.

Through the use of archival sources and oral history interviews with anti-W5 activists, this thesis explores the anti-W5 movement in detail and situates it within the context of the Chinese Canadian community organizations that arose in the 1970s. Coinciding with a new wave of primarily immigrants from Hong Kong and the emergence of a new generation who embraced their Chinese Canadian identity, these new organizations rattled the power base of traditional Chinatown organizations such as the Chinese Benevolent Associations and surname associations, reaching outside Chinatown for allies in other communities and in mainstream politics. This thesis also assesses the legacy of the anti-W5 movement: the reasons for its success, its criticisms, and how it galvanized a new generation of activists. It also considers how we can understand "Campus Giveaway" in relation to anti-Chinese and anti-Asian racism in the twenty-

first century, namely drawing parallels between “Campus Giveaway” and the 2010 *Maclean’s* article entitled “Too Asian?”.

In Chapter One, I explore the rise in nativist rhetoric against international students in Canada throughout the 1970s, which was tinged with an undercurrent of anti-Chinese racism. In this sense, “Campus Giveaway” was the product of escalating white antagonism towards Chinese people in higher education and professions. These racist views are seen in the cases of Bette Stephenson and Henry Fong. Moreover, the chapter observes the social and political changes occurring in the Chinese Canadian community throughout the late 1960s and 1970s, which set the stage for the grassroots organizing of the anti-W5 movement.

In Chapter Two, I tell the story of the “Campus Giveaway” controversy and the anti-W5 movement. Beginning with a small group of Chinese Canadian students at U of T, the chapter tracks the rise in public awareness about the W5 issue in Toronto, which would lead to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario Against W5. After overcoming internal opposition, activists in Toronto coordinated with progressive Chinese Canadian leaders in other municipalities, establishing sixteen Ad Hoc Committees from coast to coast. Using a variety of pressure tactics, from large-scale rallies to legal action, they successfully obtained an apology from CTV.

Finally, in Chapter Three, I assess the reasons for the success of the anti-W5 movement, connecting it to the social and political developments discussed in the first chapter. I also look at the criticisms levied at the anti-W5 movement; notably, the lack of redress for international students themselves and some believing that the CTV settlement was insufficient in terms of reparations. Afterwards, I review the impact of the CCNCE and examine the racism of “Campus Giveaway” and its parallels with “Too Asian?”, tracing the continuity in anti-Asian racism.

Chapter One: A Changing Community

"When the community is stronger, the power of organizing can have a stronger and more positive impact. The fight against gentrification, the fight for recognition of heritage languages, and the fight for ESL classes that are more meaningful; these are part of the seeds that were planted that led to the mobilization of the W5 movement."

- Winnie Ng to author

Though significant in scale, the anti-W5 movement was certainly not the first time the Chinese Canadian community endured racism, nor was it the first time they responded to discriminatory policies or rhetoric. In the 1970s, the Chinese in Canada were undergoing dramatic demographic changes. A new wave of immigration increased the population nearly fivefold between 1961 and 1981, from 58,197 to 289,245.[5] In contrast to the predominantly working class men who had arrived from rural Guangdong province prior to the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 (also known as the "Chinese Exclusion Act"), which prohibited nearly all Chinese immigration until its repeal in 1947, these new arrivals were mostly from Hong Kong and included more women as well as well-educated students and professionals.[6] Before 1967, such Chinese Canadian professionals were uncommon; there were still racist criteria in the immigration system that favoured European or American immigrants, and professions that historically prohibited Chinese from practicing — such as law, pharmacy, medicine, and engineering — had only gradually become more accessible since Chinese Canadians were re-enfranchised in 1947.[7] However, the immigration "points system" policy was introduced in 1967, which assessed immigration candidates by their potential economic contribution to Canada, not their country of origin.[8] This change helped a more educated, urban and diverse generation of mostly Hong Kong-born Chinese to arrive in Canada.[9]

The stage was set for the Chinese Canadian community as they entered the 1970s. On the one hand, the growing number of Chinese Canadians in post-secondary institutions and

professional occupations sparked fears of foreigners "stealing" Canadian educational and professional opportunities. These anxieties often equated Chinese with being foreign, and they were manifested in the form of policy and rhetoric long before CTV aired "Campus Giveaway." On the other hand, the demographic shifts in the Chinese Canadian community hastened the transition of power away from traditional Chinatown organizations to Chinese Canadian social justice and social welfare associations largely led by the new Hong Kong-born immigrants. The emergence of these new grassroots associations, in turn, established a renewed network of Chinese Canadian activists who were prepared to respond to discrimination through community mobilization and coalition-building with allies.

This chapter will first explore the increasingly hostile attitude towards Chinese international students through the remarks of President of the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) Dr. Bette Stephenson, the policy response to the perceived foreign student threat, and the Henry Fong Case. Then, it will discuss the emergence of new organizations within the Chinese Canadian community in Toronto that were led by students and young professionals, which prepared an experienced group of Chinese Canadian activists to respond to an attack such as "Campus Giveaway."

"Doctors of an Alien Culture?"

"We should be asking ourselves whether we are limiting the opportunities for Canadian students," Dr. Bette Stephenson, the President of the CMA, told *The Globe and Mail* on September 24, 1974.[10] In her interview, she raised concerns about foreign students outcompeting Canadian students for admittances in Canadian medical schools and claimed colleagues at the University of Toronto medical school told her that 25 percent of first-year medical students were Chinese. Although Stephenson admitted that "foreign-born students may have excellent

academic qualifications," she argued that "it takes a great deal of time for them to learn about our ethics and culture."[11] In her statements, Stephenson referred to Canadian citizens of Chinese origin, landed immigrants, and international students interchangeably as "foreign student" and "foreign-born students."

The Chinese Canadian community responded swiftly to Stephenson's remarks. On September 25, Fred Kan, a lawyer and the President of the Chinatown Businessmen's Association, told the press that he was ready to take legal action on behalf of twelve Chinese Canadian doctors who feared that "elements of racism may be creeping into a controversy involving medical school admissions."[12] He was prepared to pursue a legal injunction if the CMA or medical schools restricted the number of landed immigrants admitted, stating that "Chinese-Canadian medical students and doctors consider Canada their home and by the time most students complete their training they have become citizens."[13] In the following months, Dr. George Woo led a group of nine Chinese Canadian physicians, lawyers, dentists and engineers to form the Federation of Chinese Canadian Professionals (FCCP) of Ontario, with Fred Kan as the first president.[14] The FCCP aimed to "promote, foster and protect the rights of Chinese Canadians" and to serve as a voice for the community. Their activities, however, were limited to counselling students and they never organized a public campaign against the CMA.[15]

Stephenson's comments sparked fierce public debate surrounding the number of foreign students in medical schools, particularly regarding Chinese students who were landed immigrants. Many wrote to newspapers and the *CMA Journal* to criticize Stephenson, who defended her comments on October 8, 1974 in *The Globe and Mail* by insisting that "neither the colour of the skin nor the racial background of the students is relevant" to the foreign student question.[16] Dr. L. M. Cathcart, of the U of T Department of Family and Community Medicine,

also wrote in support of Stephenson, positing that she was "quite right in objecting to any preponderance of candidates for medicine of non-Canadian status—whether Chinese or any other nationality." However, Cathcart then stated that "a high proportion of these [Chinese] students have great difficulty in communicating with patients" due to cultural differences.[17]

In contrast, many Chinese Canadians highlighted the racial undertone of the comments and questioned Stephenson's characterization of foreign students and landed immigrants being unable to meet the needs of Canadian patients due to ethical or cultural differences. Dr. Stanley Seah and Dr. S. Y. Lai, President and Vice President of the Canadian Chinese Medical Society of Montreal, mused why Stephenson made these remarks — was it on learning that "the academic requirements of one particular year of one particular university, happened to yield a higher percentage of students of Chinese origin"? They further asserted that her statements were "a presidential blast that so smacks of racism, however unintended as she claims."[18] In another letter to the editor of the *Toronto Star*, one K. C. Cheng responded to both Stephenson and Cathcart by asking:

> "If a foreign-born doctor is not a good doctor because his knowledge in English and Canadian culture is not as good as a Canadian-born doctor, then is a Canadian-born doctor considered a better doctor even if his knowledge in medicine is not as good as a foreign-born doctor?
> If the answer is yes, I wonder what kind of medical care we are getting?"[19]

Many others echoed the views of Fred Kan and the fact that most students of foreign or landed immigrant status remained in Canada after graduation.[20]

Despite mounting criticism of her remarks, Stephenson doubled down on her calls for restricting foreign students in Canadian medical schools. In a January 9, 1975 speech at the Empire Club of Canada, she clarified that she was not a "white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, racial bigot who hates Chinese," but she regretted that her use of the example of Chinese students of U

of T had obscured "the real issues."[21] By "real issues," she meant that the allegedly high number of foreign students settling in Canada constituted a brain drain for developing countries, and that "the children of tax-paying Canadian citizens" were supposedly being denied admission to Canadian medical schools in favour of students "who are either foreign or of landed immigrant status."[22] Though she claimed her statistics were verified by the Ontario Minister of University Affairs,[23] the *Toronto Star* reported that of the 241 first-year students in medicine at U of T in 1974, only 33 (14 percent) were foreign-born Chinese and nearly all of them were landed immigrants.[24] Regardless, Stephenson never apologized for her comments and, from 1978 to 1985, would later serve as the first female Minister of Education and Minister of Colleges and Universities in Ontario under Premier Bill Davis' Progressive Conservative (PC) government.[25]

Stephenson's remarks were not an isolated incident, but part of a growing tide of anti-foreign student rhetoric that was sweeping through Canadian media and politics in the late 1960s and 1970s. With the new immigration policies of the 1960s that allowed for more diverse immigrants, the formerly white British identity of English Canada had become more amorphous.[26] According to McCartney, this renegotiation of English Canadian identity — which later culminated in the enactment of official multiculturalism — necessitated a delineation of what was not Canadian, which in turn drew the public attention towards international students.[27] International students, who were increasingly seen as future immigrants instead of sojourners who were exporting Canadian education to their home countries, became racially characterized as being from the "Third World", sparking anxieties about a diversifying population.[28] Moreover, they became perceived as threats to Canadian economic and academic institutional security, spawning narratives of international students stealing spots in universities, taxpayer

funding, and Canadian jobs as well as Cold War stereotypes of them acting as "Mao followers" and Communist troublemakers on Canadian campuses.[29]

Throughout the 1970s, anxieties towards foreign students were escalated with provincial and federal political parties vying to deliver the harshest measures, policies and rhetoric. In 1971, the federal Liberal government banned international students from accessing National Research Council or Canada Council funding.[30] In 1973, they were further prohibited from working in Canada unless they were promised financial support from the government.[31] In the House of Commons, the federal Progressive Conservatives would continue to criticize the Liberals on the foreign student issue. On December 10, 1974, Member of Parliament (MP) Jake Epp questioned the Minister of National Health and Welfare about the "high proportion of foreign students" in Canadian medical schools,[32] and on March 20, 1975, MP Philip B. Rynard claimed that 26 percent of first-year medical students at U of T were not Canadian students, with each student allegedly costing taxpayers $75,000.[33] That same month, Martin Shulman, an Ontario New Democratic Party (NDP) Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP), called for a 10 percent quota on foreign-born students in Ontario medical schools, arguing that the meritocratic "marks-only" system was discriminating against "our own sons and daughters."[34] In response to "the public concern regarding the cost to the Ontario taxpayer of educating foreign students," the Ontario Minister for Colleges and Universities introduced differential fees in May 1976, raising the $250 community college and $585 university domestic tuition fees to $750 and $1,500, respectively, for international students.[35]

With mounting public pressure against foreign students, the U of T Faculty of Medicine forced a fourth-year Hong Kong-born Canadian medical student, Henry Fong, to terminate his studies in November 1974.[36] Fong had failed the surgery unit during his first attempt at fourth

year, and was in the middle of his second attempt when he was forced to withdraw from medical school.[37] During his second attempt at the surgery unit with the Department of Family and Community Medicine, Fong had a personal disagreement with a faculty member, Dr. H. Gryniewski, who later charged Fong with "incompetence and dishonesty."[38] Gryniewski had asked Fong to examine all the cranial nerves of a patient; Fong, having examined only some of the nerves, reported that they were "grossly intact."[39] On the basis of this incident, Gryniewski sent a letter to the entire faculty denouncing Fong's performance. That letter prompted Dr. C. H. Hollenburg, Chief of Medicine at the Toronto General Hospital, to complain about Fong's alleged communication difficulties to the faculty's Associate Dean, Dr. Jan Steiner.[40] In comparison to medical students who had similar or stronger allegations directed at them, Fong's case was not extraordinary; many of his peers had academic records that were as bad or worse than him, "including one who took three times to get through the fourth year."[41] However, despite receiving grades between 70 to 80 in ten other rotations and having more than ten other faculty members write in support of his competence, Fong became the only student in the faculty's history to be expelled in the middle of his fourth year.[42]

Henry Fong's expulsion immediately sparked allegations of systemic racism in the Faculty of Medicine. His case was unfolding almost simultaneously with the controversy surrounding Dr. Stephenson and Dr. Cathcart's comments about foreign-born Chinese students. It was noticed that Stephenson and Cathcart had both been colleagues of Gryniewski in the U of T Department of Family and Community Medicine, and faculty members referred to Fong's ethnic background in discussions about his dismissal.[43] Within the faculty, Associate Dean Dr. E. Llewellyn-Thomas testified that there were conversations about tighter controls on the number of international students, particularly those of Chinese origin. He noted that students of Chinese

origin were perceived by faculty as having "communication problems" — a term often used as an euphemism for discrimination based on language and race — "with patients."[44] A list of names was also being circulated of mostly Chinese students "whose knowledge of English was poor."[45] When Henry Fong and his family met with Dr. A. Hudson, the coordinator for fourth-year medical students, to discuss his expulsion, Hudson told them that if Fong wanted to pursue medicine, the family should go back to Hong Kong.[46]

With lawyer Michael Smith and Dr. Peter Rosenthal, a U of T Professor of Mathematics who had a parallel career as a lawyer, and a member of the university's Committee Against Racism (CAR), as his counsel, Henry Fong appealed his case on October 17, 1975 with the U of T Academic Appeals Subcommittee of the Governing Council.[47] Over four days of intense hearings between October 17 and November 6, 1975, the CAR alleged the Faculty of Medicine had used Fong, by all accounts an average student, as a scapegoat to "tighten admissions to reduce the number of Chinese students."[48] After six weeks of deliberation, the Governing Council's Subcommittee ultimately saw "no reason for interfering with [the judgement of the Faculty of Medicine]" in a twelve-page report published on December 18, 1976.[49] Although the Subcommittee acknowledged that racist and xenophobic views existed in the Faculty of Medicine, they asserted that these opinions did not personally affect the judgement of Henry Fong, stating that "merely to show that prejudice exists [...] does not lead to the inference that prejudice affected the judgement."[50]

In response to the Subcommittee's decision, the CAR organized a series of protests against the Faculty of Medicine and the U of T Governing Council from January to April 1976. Anti-racist and labour activists rallied around Fong's cause, including the U of T Chairman of the Department of History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Education George W. Bancroft, the

Canadian Union of Public Employees (Local 1230), and the Canadian Party of Labor.[51] Fong's mother, Mrs. Fong, was outspoken on behalf of her son and went to Chinatown to help rally the support of the Chinese Canadian community.[52] Chinese Canadian students, including members of the university's Chinese Students' Association (UTCSA) and East Asian Studies Student Union (EASS), responded to Fong and his mother's appeals for help. [53] The FCCP, however, did not actively lobby for Fong's case, and it drew criticism from the community.[54] During the February 24 rally outside the Medical Sciences Building, a group of speakers, including Smith and Rosenthal, Ontario Liberal MPP Margaret Campbell, civil rights lawyer Charles Roach, and former school trustee and the first Chinese Canadian called to the Bar, K. Doc Yip, called for Fong's reinstatement.[55] Smith argued that scapegoating Henry Fong allowed the Faculty to add "communications interviews" and "non-academic criteria" to the former marks-only system of admissions, which could be used subjectively to exclude immigrant students and working class students "who don't have the right references."[56] Despite the significant outcry against Fong's expulsion, the U of T administration insisted that they had no authority to overturn the Subcommittee's ruling. On April 12, 1976, the university ombudsman finally denied Fong any chance of being reinstated by rejecting his last appeal.[57] The Henry Fong Case, together with mounting hostility towards Chinese international students, helped to establish a group of students and faculty who were primed to take action against any future instances of discrimination.

Building Blocks

In the spring of 1976, a group of Chinese Canadian and international students gathered at the University Settlement House in the heart of Toronto's Chinatown West (also known as "New Chinatown" or "Spadina-Dundas Chinatown"). Inspired by the injustice of the Henry Fong Case, they met Winnie Ng, a Hong Kong-born community worker and counsellor at the Settlement

House, with the aim of getting more involved in the Chinese community.[58] A recent sociology graduate from McGill University, Ng's student experiences drew her to community work. In her words:

> "When I was in school in Montreal, [I worked] as a waitress and room attendant, cleaning up people's hotel rooms. To me, this is where the worker's consciousness comes in, where a lot of women workers — in particular, immigrants — endure so much in silence for the betterment of their kids."[59]

In September 1975, Ng had moved to Toronto after being hired by the Settlement House to provide the Chinese community with social services, such as English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, family crisis counselling, and senior citizen programs.[60] When the students came to the House in 1976, they collaborated with Ng to connect community organizers and student groups. Together, they founded the Chinese Canadians for Mutual Advancement (CCMA).[61]

Described as one of the most active and the first "truly community-oriented" Chinese Canadian organizations by Richard Henry Thompson, the CCMA worked to promote the interests of working-class immigrants in Toronto's Chinatown.[62] In 1976, Ng and the CCMA were at the front lines of the battle against redevelopment plans that threatened transform Chinatown into a business and luxury residential sector.[63] Primarily financed by Hong Kong business interests, these proposals included a "multi-million-dollar commercial/residential complex at the southwest corner of Spadina and Dundas" which became incredibly controversial.[64] At this point, the Chinese in Toronto were no strangers to gentrification in their neighbourhoods: many had been pushed out of Old Chinatown when a large portion of it was replaced by the new City Hall in the mid-1950s, and a "Save Chinatown Committee" was established to fight to preserve what was left of the neighbourhood in the late 1960s.[65] With their

properties expropriated, many businesses relocated to the Spadina-Dundas neighbourhood west of University Avenue and called it “New Chinatown.”

In response to Chinese community protests over further attempts to now rezone the New Chinatown West for high-density residential, commercial and institutional use, the city had established the South East Spadina Ad Hoc Steering Committee to allow the community to advise zoning plans.[66] The Steering Committee blocked the initial plans for the Spadina and Dundas project, which prompted developers to rally merchants, traditional clan associations, and pro-business Chinese groups against the Committee. When the city ordered changes to the Committee’s membership to better reflect the pro-development camp, the CCMA led a coalition of Chinese and non-Chinese residents, students, workers, and concerned citizens to form the Grange Community Coalition in 1977.[67]

The lines in the sand were drawn along class divides within the Chinese community. According to Ng, the core of this issue was that low-income and working-class immigrant families needed to be close to their workplaces and housing.[68] At the time, the neighbourhood around Spadina was used as a stepping stone for newcomers, who were able to access cheap rental housing and work in local industries such as restaurants and garment factories. The residences for low-income households would be demolished if the development was permitted, replacing affordable housing with condos and shopping malls.[69] The fight between the Grange Community Coalition and the pro-development camp became incredibly heated, with some in the latter faction accusing the community activists of being “traitors to the Han race.”[70] For the first time, city politicians became acutely aware of the diversity of opinion within the Chinese Canadian community, and many activists began to build relationships with local political figures to court their support. With no previous experience in political mobilization, the CCMA began a

leafleting and door-knocking campaign to raise awareness for their cause.[71] In January 1978, the city decided to strike a compromise: it permitted new high-density commercial and residential developments, but projects could only be built with city planner approval and limited to 100 units or less per acre.[72] The conflict also brought greater recognition for the Chinese in Toronto, which prompted the city to make some local street signs bilingual and convert a former synagogue into the Cecil Community Centre for the Chinatown community.[73]

A key group of the working class who were directly affected by the rezoning of Chinatown were the approximately 6,000 workers in Toronto's garment industry, of which nearly half were Chinese and primarily new female immigrants. Ng and the bilingual students of the CCMA worked closely with the Toronto Chinese Garment Workers' Association (TCGWA), which was formed in 1970 to teach English language skills and to provide information about labour rights and working conditions to new Chinese immigrant garment workers.[74] The two organizations helped develop the blueprint for ESL courses and teaching materials which were relevant to workplace discussions in garment factories, particularly regarding labour rights such as wages and benefits.[75] In doing so, the CCMA and TCGWA also forged closer relationships with other ethnic communities and labour rights groups involved in the garment industry. This marked the "beginning of a new way of doing things, that involved coalition- and bridge-building between the Chinese community and other external groups."[76] Ng's work was recognized by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and she was hired as their first Chinese Canadian female union organizer in 1977.[77]

With the rapid growth in new immigrants among the Chinese community, there was an increasing demand for not only more ESL courses, but also Chinese-language accessibility. In 1977, Dr. Joseph Y. K. Wong was completing his postgraduate training and residency in internal

and respiratory medicine at U of T. He began to help address Chinese immigrant medical care by working with neighbourhood settlement agencies.[78] He was approached by the Chair of Community Medicine at Mt. Sinai Hospital, who proposed to have a Chinese physician work on the weekends at the hospital alongside a Chinese social worker to help with translation and recruit other volunteers.[79] Mt. Sinai was experiencing a large influx of Chinese seniors in the emergency room on weekends, and the doctors were having difficulty communicating with them. At the time, there were not many Chinese physicians, so Wong agreed to the request and recruited five other second-year and third-year residents in nearby hospitals to start the Chinese Weekend Community Clinic at Mt. Sinai in 1978.[80] They initially began on a three-week rotation of one day per person, but for a variety of reasons, all the other volunteers stopped going within the first year. Although he was the last volunteer, Wong was undeterred and dedicated every weekend to the Community Clinic for the next five years.[81] During that time, an international crisis was about to draw Dr. Wong and the community into a humanitarian operation.

In 1978, regional conflict and political turmoil in Southeast Asia sparked another massive wave of refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia, many of whom were ethnic Chinese Hoa people.[82] More than 200,000 had reached other Southeast Asian countries by the end of 1978, and the number of refugees leaving Vietnam was growing in the tens of thousands every month.[83] A significant portion of those fleeing Vietnam left on makeshift vessels in the hope of reaching international waters, facing risks such as drowning, hunger, dehydration, piracy, sexual assault, and murder.[84] These conditions inspired Western media outlets to popularize the term "boat people" in reference to the worsening refugee crisis.

Canadians had been aware of those fleeing Southeast Asia since the fall of Saigon in April 1975, but the intensification of the issue led to renewed international attention in early 1979. In Wong's words:

> "At the time, I was reading the Toronto Star every single day after I got off work at Toronto Western or Sunnybrook [Hospitals]. I remember very well, I sat at the back of the bus reading these stories. Every day, I was so moved by these stories. Every single day, I cried at the back of the bus. How could this happen? How could anyone not do anything to help these people out of the stormy seas?"[85]

Ng's husband, Eugene Yao, was Wong's close friend and roommate when they were studying at McGill. In early June 1979, they discussed the Southeast Asian refugee crisis over dinner, which inspired them to quickly organize a meeting at the University Settlement House on June 9 to plan a course of action.[86] With support from groups such as the CCMA, Ng, Yao, and Wong worked together to create the Action Committee for Refugees from South-East Asia (ACRSEA) and began coordinating efforts to privately co-sponsor Southeast Asian refugees with other organizations across Toronto and, in particular, the Jewish Canadian community and Operation Lifeline.[87] Howard Adelman, a philosophy professor at York University, had established Operation Lifeline during the week of June 18, 1979 with the aim of encouraging private sponsorship and lobbying for support from Prime Minister Joe Clark's PC government and the Minister of Employment and Immigration Ron Atkey.[88]

With Wong as the ACRSEA coordinator, the Toronto Chinese community came out for a 400-person protest march on July 15 at City Hall to demand that the Canadian government "step up its relief efforts in Indo-China" and accept more refugees, attracting significant mainstream media attention.[89] The CCMA, with their experience in community organizing, mobilized their volunteers to collect over 10,000 signatures in a single week to petition the federal government.[90] The combined pressure of refugee advocates worked; on July 18, 1979, Secretary of State for

External Affairs Flora MacDonald announced that the government would sponsor refugees to match the number of private sponsorships, with the goal of accepting 50,000 refugees by the end of 1980.[91] This objective was increased to 60,000 in April 1980. A coalition of organizations, including ACRSEA, worked tirelessly to coordinate and raise funds for private sponsorships. They also challenged racist opposition to Canada's acceptance of boat people; Wong, alongside Sidney Poon and alderman Ying Hope of the Indo-Chinese Refugee's Trust Fund, refuted a proposal from the National Citizens Coalition — a conservative lobby group — to send the refugees back to their "natural homeland" of China.[92] By the end of 1980, approximately 34,000 of the 60,000 admitted refugees were privately sponsored. Canada had welcomed the highest number of Southeast Asian refugees per capita in the world.[93]

The 1970s was a watershed decade for Chinese communities in Canada. In addition to the fight against gentrification, the establishment of support programs for new immigrants, and the Southeast Asian refugee crisis, the 1970s also witnessed the coalescence of Chinese Canadian community organizing around issues of identity. For new immigrant parents, this meant fears about the erosion of their children's Chinese cultural identities and language skills. Many parents came together in the late 1960s and early 1970s to create new Chinese schools for their children which reflected the Cantonese of the Hong Kong immigrants as well as the emerging importance of Mandarin.[94] Among these were the Mon Sheong Foundation Chinese School established in 1968, and the Ai-Cheng Mandarin Chinese School (*Ai zheng zhongwen xuexiao*, 愛正中文學校) founded in 1973 by Irene Chu.[95]

In Toronto's Chinatown, parents came together in 1973 to form the Chinese Parents' Association of Ogden and Orde Schools to advocate for a Chinese language program at the schools, which both had student populations that were around 90 percent Chinese.[96] With

support from community members, they canvassed door-to-door, petitioned the school trustees, contacted the media, and lobbied the school board.[97] At the time, the federal Liberal government under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was encouraging its new framework of multiculturalism, which was introduced under the Multiculturalism Policy of 1971.[98] Envisioning "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," Trudeau's system denied formal language rights for Indigenous and minority languages and formalized a settler-colonial linguistic hierarchy around English and French.[99] However, it also granted "ideological and implementational space for immigrants to sustain their culture," which gave impetus for provincial education officials to consider heritage-language education policies.[100] In response to the activism of the Chinese parents, Joe Sterioff, the director of new Canadian programs at the Toronto Board of Education, agreed to implement the Chinese language and culture programs at Ogden and Orde public schools in 1974 for a two-year period so long as the parents contributed half the funds.[101] The initiative of the Chinese Parents' Association eventually grew into a province-wide call for heritage language programs, which Ontario Premier Bill Davis implemented in 1977 for all ethnic groups.[102]

The emerging image of a multicultural Canada was also a factor in the rise of the Asian Canadian movement of the 1970s and early 1980s, which partially sought to assert Asian Canadians' belonging to a Canadian identity that has historically excluded them.[103] These new self-labelled hybrid identities, such as "Chinese Canadian" and "Asianadian", denoted a political consciousness among a generation of young Asians in Canada of their "in-betweenness" and status as an "other" in Canadian society.[104] Inspired by the American civil rights movement and the Asian American movement in earlier decades, the Asian Canadian movement became

prominent in both Vancouver and Toronto. This identity was increasingly articulated through cultural production.[105]

In Vancouver, the Chinese Canadian Writers' Workshop emerged in the 1960s and later expanded into the Asian Canadian Writers' Workshop in 1976.[106] The Pender Guy Radio Collective began broadcasting in May 1976 as a program which proudly explored "Chinese-Canadian community and culture."[107] In the words of Ramona Mar, a third-generation Chinese Canadian who worked on Pender Guy as a student:

> "In those days, it wasn't really a thing to be proud of [being Chinese Canadian]. You just wanted to blend in. To say it loud and proud, it's like "are you sure you want to talk about it? You want to look back at a shameful history?" Actually, yes, I do. Yes, it's important."[108]

Meanwhile, in Toronto, Dr. Anthony B. Chan, Cheuk Kwan, and Paul Levine — all in their thirties — founded *The Asianadian* in April 1978. A quarterly publication, it provided a space for Asian Canadian cultural production and an explicitly activist stance on social and political issues facing Asian Canadians.[109] An electrical engineer by trade, Kwan was influenced by the Asian American movement while he was studying at UC Berkeley and, though born in Hong Kong, he grew up in Japan, which allowed him to connect with both Chinese and Japanese Canadian communities and identify the similarities in the Asian Canadian experience between them and various other ethnocultural groups.[110]

The Asianadian grew rapidly in readership and attracted the attention of mainstream news outlets, allowing Kwan to develop relationships with journalists such as Dick Beddoes of *The Globe and Mail*.[111] The magazine would present a "Dubious Award" to "outstanding stereotypes and distortions on Asians by individuals and the mass media," and the award in December 1979 went to radio personality Gordon Sinclair, who questioned the suitability of the Vietnamese

refugees in the climate and culture of Canada.[112] Kwan's response to Sinclair was featured in *The Globe and Mail* as their quote of the day: "If the Vietnamese survived monsoons, napalm bombs and pirates in the South China Sea, they will be just fine this winter in Saskatoon."[113] Thus, the Asian Canadian movement inspired many young Asian Canadians to develop — borrowing the words of Chan — an "Asian Canadian sensibility" that promoted pride in their hybrid identities and encouraged anti-racist and social justice inclinations.[114]

In summary, the increasingly racist and xenophobic rhetoric against international students and the rapidly developing activist networks among the Chinese Canadian community set the groundwork for the anti-W5 movement. Many Chinese students at U of T were incensed by the injustice that was dealt to Henry Fong and the intensifying restrictions on international students, which primed them to respond to "Campus Giveaway." Unlike the clan associations and other traditional Chinatown organizations, who had limited themselves within "the prescribed space of Chinatown as their site of operation,"[115] an emerging group of young Hong Kong-born professionals like Winnie Ng, Joseph Wong, and Cheuk Kwan — made possible by the removal of anti-Chinese restrictions on the professions and immigration — were creating and influencing a new generation of Chinese Canadian organizations that developed close relationships and coalitions with other ethno-racial communities, social justice associations, media outlets, and local, provincial, and federal politicians. Like the first and second generations of Chinese in Canada — who had fought for the right to vote — they learned how to mobilize the community, raise awareness about various issues, lobby and influence elected officials, and manage media relations. According to Ng, these skills "allowed Chinese Canadians to be seen as one of the key players and partners at the table."[116] The emergence of the Asian Canadian identity also encouraged more Chinese Canadians, particularly youth, to further conceptualize their belonging

in Canada, which would inspire them to rally against stereotypes and perceptions of perpetual foreignness. A rising tide of students and young professionals were itching to take on anti-Chinese racism in Canada, and “Campus Giveaway” would provide the perfect catalyst for their movement.

Chapter Two: The Movement

"To the decent, unsuspecting Canadians who rarely question the accuracy and credibility of CTV, watching W-5's "Campus Giveaway" segment is like being spoon-fed poison. The result is, of course, a brewing and growing hostility and enmity towards all visible minorities."

- Cheuk Kwan, "The Foreign Threat That Never Was!"

In the fall of 1979, as classes were about to begin, the International Student Centre (ISC) at the University of Toronto informed the U of T Chinese Students' Association (UTCSA) that reporters from the CTV W5 weekly newsmagazine wanted to film student life activities for an upcoming episode.[117] Dinah Cheng, a third-year engineering student and the President of the UTCSA, agreed to the request. The CTV camera crew came in early September to film the UTCSA Orientation Program, which was naturally intended for students of ethnic Chinese background.[118] The Orientation featured "Chinese dances, songs, and traditional verse speaking."[119] Lilian Ma, a recent graduate and research associate at the Department of Biochemistry, was asked to participate in one of the skits.[120]

The students initially did not think much of the W5 request. At the beginning of October 1979, the Director of the ISC, Elizabeth Paterson, notified the UTCSA of the potential misrepresentation of their event in a recent W5 episode.[121] Broadcast on September 30, 1979 and entitled "Campus Giveaway," the segment asserted that foreign students were taking Canadian spots in Canadian academic institutions.[122] All the students filmed were Chinese, with the implication that they were all foreign.

When Paterson showed the UTCSA executives a recording of the segment, they were appalled. As the camera revealed the auditorium full of Chinese students attending their Orientation, W5 host Helen Hutchinson commented that "Oriental foreign students [...] rarely mix with their Canadian classmates," noting that "certainly those Chinese students still attract a

full house, but not one Canadian student attended."[123] The UTCSA executives were incensed with how they were portrayed. In Dinah's words, "they were saying that 'oh, all these Chinese are coming in,' and it looks like everywhere, there's Chinese. But of course, you filmed *our* Orientation Program."[124] Many students were upset by the false distinction between Chinese and Canadian students and the implication that all Chinese were foreign. Norman Kwan, then a second-year dentistry student, recalls:

> "When I saw the program, I was just hopping mad, because basically they were saying that all the foreign students — when they said 'foreign students,' they had the camera show all the Asian-looking faces — were taking 'our' spaces in professional schools. Therefore, all these 'Canadians' — and they showed all these white Canadian students — couldn't get in."[125]

In reality, all but four of the Chinese so-called "foreign students" identified in "Campus Giveaway" were Canadian citizens or landed immigrants.[126]

These students and graduates at U of T would be the first to act against CTV. Their initial movement would come to garner more support from the Chinese Canadian community — particularly young activists and professionals — and eventually grow into a nation-wide movement. Through effective community mobilization, coalition-building with allies, and a combination of legal and political pressure, the anti-W5 movement successfully stood up to CTV and received a full apology from its President, Murray Chercover, on April 16, 1980. This chapter will explore the emergence of the anti-W5 movement and its trials and tribulations as it faced off against a Canadian media giant.

The Spark

By the end of the 1970s, the CTV network had expanded to 95 percent of the English-language population in Canada, and W5 was the network's signature public affairs news magazine.[127] Helen Hutchinson was among the first wave of prominent female journalists who

appeared on television, becoming familiar to many Canadians.[128] CTV's established reputation made W5's falsehoods in "Campus Giveaway" especially pernicious, as Canadians across the country watched the racist characterization of foreign students in Canada. Hutchinson set the tone of the episode in her opening statement:

> "Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful. Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the tuition—but he still couldn't get into university in his chosen courses because a foreign student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country."[129]

As the camera panned across Chinese faces, Hutchinson announced with authority that at least 10 percent of students in British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Nova Scotia were foreign, more so in Ontario and Quebec, and that there were at least 100,000 foreign students nationally.[130] The audience was then introduced to Barbara Allan, a white Canadian woman from St. Catharines, Ontario who had recently graduated from high school with a 79.5 percent average. She was not admitted to the University of Toronto's pharmacy program and was upset about the number of foreign students, who supposedly comprised 10 to 30 percent of the class. Following a conversation with Allan about her lifelong dream of becoming a pharmacist, Hutchinson emphasized that "Barb Allan isn't a racist; it's the policies she's fighting. not the participants."[131]

"Campus Giveaway" went on to argue that international students were primarily elites from Southeast Asia and Hong Kong, who exported their Canadian academic qualifications abroad to compete with Canadian industries. Hutchinson also interviewed John Helliwell, the Director of Foreign Student Affairs at the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE). Although Helliwell rejected Hutchinson's claims of "more than 100,000 foreign students on our campuses," she rebuked him by stating that the CBIE is "government-sponsored." She reiterated

that foreign students were a problem and cited Allan and "professors and admissions personnel who complain bitterly to us off the record, but refuse to talk publicly, because they're afraid of being called racist."[132] After asserting that 80 percent of the education costs for a foreign student were allegedly paid by taxpayer dollars, W5 argued that "Oriental foreign students" do not integrate well on university campuses while the UTCSA Orientation was shown to the audience.[133]

Only about 12 minutes long, "Campus Giveaway" was a segment of the full W5 episode on September 30, 1979. However, its contents — littered with factual errors, missing sources, and thinly-veiled racism that singled out Chinese students — would come to spur activists from across the country to action. The response to "Campus Giveaway" first emerged on campuses, from both students and faculty members. University Deans, administrators, and professors, alongside government officials, denied any "foreign student problem" in the days following the episode's broadcast.[134] For example, the University of British Columbia (UBC) rejected the W5 claims, with statistics showing that only one percent of their undergraduate students were foreign as opposed to CTV's purported 10 percent.[135] William Winegard, Chairman of the Ontario Council on University Affairs, and Carolyn Barrett, a University Affairs Officer in the Ontario Ministry of Colleges and Universities, agreed that the CTV claims were "nonsense," with nearly no foreign students even being enrolled in medicine except those sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).[136] The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) also chimed in, noting that statistics from the 1976-77 academic year showed that "21.5 per cent of the 18,304 visa students were from Hong Kong, 20.4 per cent from the United States and 15.2 per cent from the United Kingdom" — nowhere near the CTV claims of at least 100,000 foreign students, of which 60 percent were supposedly from Southeast Asia and

30 percent from Hong Kong.[137] Alan Earp, President of the AUCC, discredited Barbara Allan's story, as she had not received the 79.5 percent average required for admission to U of T pharmacy.[138] He also pointed out that the U of T Faculty of Pharmacy only admitted Ontario residents; thus, a foreign student could not have taken her place because there were none whatsoever.[139]

In addition to mispresenting the UTCSA student activities, "Campus Giveaway" faced backlash from the CBIE and the ISC for misleading both organizations. On October 15, John Helliwell publicly replied to W5 by criticizing the program for quoting him "'out of context' for 10 seconds."[140] He asserted that the CBIE had provided the W5 producers "with every bit of information they needed to do an accurate presentation," and denounced "Campus Giveaway" for suggesting that all foreign students are not white and vice versa.[141] Likewise, the ISC complained that W5 had "misused the statistics we gave them," and U of T President James Ham — though he initially did not show much support when he first met with students concerned about the W5 issue on October 10 — penned an open letter in the *Toronto Star* on October 20 that rejected the episode's numbers and reiterated the institution's commitment to supporting foreign students.[142] In late October, ISC Director Elizabeth Paterson wrote to CTV Vice-President of News, Features & Information Programming Donald Cameron to criticize the episode's insufficient research, conflation of foreign students and landed immigrants, and racist effect.[143] In response, Cameron and W5 researchers doubled down on their statistics. In particular, they stated that "W5 simply could not have made the programme without showing large numbers of Chinese students" as 33 percent of all visa students held Hong Kong citizenship and two-thirds of University of Alberta (U of A) undergraduate visa students were Malaysian Chinese or Hong Kongers.[144] Paterson, in her reply on November 5, 1979, rightfully pointed out

that “Campus Giveaway” was not filmed at U of A, but at U of T, which had a smaller proportion of Chinese visa students. Nonetheless, she concluded that “even granting the larger number [of Chinese students], there was still no excuse whatsoever for showing exclusively Chinese students.”[145]

As for the student response, the National Union of Students (NUS) attacked the program’s “manipulated statistics” and “thinly-veiled racist attack on international students.” [146] On October 2, 1979, they referred to their own data which showed that only 5.3 percent of Canadian students were foreign.[147] The UTCSA immediately began organizing a letter-writing campaign, sending their first letters to the editors of English-language newspapers on October 5.[148] Signed by Dinah Cheng, their letters pointed out that the U of T Faculty of Pharmacy did not accept any foreign students and that, contrary to the CTV claim of 400 international students in medical schools, there were only 83 visa medical students in Canada.[149] However, the UTCSA emphasized that their main intention was to highlight that W5 exclusively showed Asian students to demonstrate that “Canadians have suffered from the influx of foreign students,” disregarding the fact that a “significant portion” of the “foreign students” caught on camera were actually Canadians.[150] They argued that CTV was “depriving Asians the honour to be called Canadians,” and this conflation of Asian and foreign would channel public resentment towards Asians in Canada.[151]

In the days afterwards, the UTCSA also began reaching out to the Chinese student community, acquiring the support of four other Chinese Students’ Associations (CSAs) across U of T’s three campuses: the Chinese Pharmaceutical Society (UTCPS), the Erindale College Chinese Students’ Association (ECCSA), the Scarborough College Chinese Students’ Associations (SCCSA), and the Chinese Engineering Student Association (UTCESA).[152]

Together, they continued their letter-writing campaign, lodging complaints against CTV and W5 with the Canadian Radiotelevision & Telecommunication Commission (CRTC) and Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC).[153] Thanks to Norman Kwan, who had smuggled the cassette copy of "Campus Giveaway" out of the U of T Sigmund Samuel Library to have it duplicated,[154] the associations also hosted viewings of "Campus Giveaway" at the ISC, raising awareness of the issue among the student body.[155] The Chinese students at U of T branched out to other students associations on campus as well as CSAs across southern Ontario. Their efforts eventually grew to include the U of T Medical Student Society, the U of T Dentistry Students Society, and the CSAs of the University of Waterloo, the University of Western Ontario, York University, George Brown College, Queen's University, and Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.[156] This alliance of CSAs and other associations would form the Association of Chinese Canadian Students and Graduates (ACCSG; *Huayi jianada xuesheng ji biye sheng lian hui*, 華裔加拿大學生及畢業生聯會) on November 2, 1979, in order to provide a united front to advance the student movement against CTV.[157]

As the students in southern Ontario were mobilizing, other Chinese Canadians across the country were also beginning to take note of the "Campus Giveaway" issue. Immediately after the episode was aired on September 30, 1979, two future members of the Montreal Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 sent complaints about the program to the local CFCF and CTV television stations.[158] In October 1979, the McGill Chinese Society and the Chinese Neighbourhood Society of Montreal also wrote to CTV in protest, and the Chinese Programme of the multilingual CINQ-FM radio station ran editorials and specials about the W5 issue.[159] In Saskatoon, South Asian Canadian colleagues of Dr. Angela Wei Djao, an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan (U of S), had seen the initial

broadcast of "Campus Giveaway" and notified her of the episode.[160] Together, they helped mobilize the South Asian Canadian and Chinese Canadian communities to send a joint letter of protest to Donald Cameron on October 11, 1979, which was followed the next day with a public seminar at the University of Saskatchewan about W5's errors.[161]

Back in Toronto, the ACCSG had established an executive of 18 students. Among them were Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee, an undergraduate student in the Faculty of Arts & Science and UTCSA executive, who both represented the UTCSA on the Core Committee of the ACCSG; Norman Kwan, who was the Dentistry Representative; and Lilian Ma, an active UTCSA member, who worked on the Research & Information and Publicity Subcommittees.[162] Meanwhile, the letter-writing campaign initiated by the UTCSA had yielded unsatisfactory results. Although virtually all of W5's statistics about foreign students had been disputed within a month of their broadcast, CTV maintained steadfast support for "Campus Giveaway," stating that they were "satisfied with the accuracy of the program."[163] Therefore, a few core members of the ACCSG then began to consider legal action against CTV and decided to reach out to the Chinese Canadian community at large for support.[164]

Kwan, who was part of the Legal Action Subcommittee, contacted Fred Kan and met with him on October 23 with Cheng and Lee. [165] However, Kan was concerned about the legal costs and told the students that he was uncertain about the strength of their case.[166] Kwan had contacted two other lawyers affiliated with the FCCP, and they responded similarly.[167] Disappointed but undeterred, they eventually met with lawyer Joseph Pomerant and his articling student Kai-Wing Tsang at the law firm of Pomerant & Devlin first on October 26, then October 30, and again on November 4.[168] Tsang and Pomerant agreed to help the students and served a notice of intent to sue for libel and slander on November 8 on behalf of three student plaintiffs —

Cheng, Kwan and U of T medical student Lam Wai-Arm — to five parties at CTV: CTV Television Networks Ltd., CFTO TV Ltd., Helen Hutchinson, Murray Chercover, and Gordon Henderson, a senior producer at W5.[169] Tsang had walked right into the CTV network offices in Toronto, where Henderson, Hutchinson, and Coleman accepted the notice on behalf of Chercover and CTV.[170] When Tsang reported back to the students at the ISC after delivering the notice, the students cheered with jubilation.[171] The original three plaintiffs would soon be increased to five, as Jenny Lee and U of T pharmacy student Steven Ng also joined the lawsuit. Lee, being an international student in general arts and sciences, was added in order to advance a claim for damages caused to foreign students by the W5 episode. The five plaintiffs represented the spectrum of immigration status — Lee was a visa student, Cheng was a landed immigrant, Kwan and Lam were naturalized Canadians, and Ng was a Canadian-born citizen — as well as five different fields of study: general arts and sciences, engineering, pharmacy, dentistry, and medicine.

In mid-October, Dr. Joseph Y. K. Wong was notified about the "Campus Giveaway" controversy during a farewell potluck for an ACRSEA student volunteer who was returning home to Hong Kong after graduating from U of T. The student, who was a member of the UTCSA, told Wong about the W5 episode and the student protest efforts. In Wong's words:

> "All of us said, 'we need to see the clip [of "Campus Giveaway"], in order to see if it is as racist as you said it is.' The next day, we saw the clip, and it was even a lot worse than what he told us. That is why we said we needed to do something about it."[172]

At the same time, the students involved with the ACCSG had decided to raise awareness about the W5 issue in the Chinese community at large and expand the protest efforts against CTV. Lilian Ma reached out to Wong and Winnie Ng on behalf of the ACCSG. According to Ma:

> "I was a volunteer [for the Southeast Asian refugee issue], and Winnie Ng, Joseph, we were doing that together. And so I knew them, and I said 'I'm going to talk to these guys, because they know more than I do, they're more connected with the Chinese community than I am.'"[173]

The ACRSEA, CCMA, and ACCSG came together to organize a meeting at the Mon Sheong Home for the Aged on October 26 to discuss the W5 issue.[174] Without hesitation, Wong made the very first donation to the student cause with a cheque for $100,[175] and the two community organizations agreed to give the students their full support.

Afterwards, Wong helped connect the students to Irene Chu, the coordinator of an upcoming conference hosted by the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario (CCCO). Entitled "Living & Growing in Canada" and held at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto, the conference took place from November 10 to 11, 1979 and featured prominent speakers in a series of panels and workshops concerning a range of Chinese Canadian issues.[176] Attracting approximately 600 attendees, the CCCO event was an opportunity for the students to promote their cause to a larger part of the community. The night prior to the conference, students from the ACCSG led by Jenny Lee met with Chu to ask if they could speak about the W5 issue,[177] and she allotted them a chance to speak at a press conference during the morning of November 10.[178]

Held in the ballroom of the Royal York, the students' press conference was attended by hundreds of participants as well as prominent community leaders and civil rights activists, many of whom would later support or participate in the anti-W5 movement. These included Dr. Donald Chu, Irene Chu's husband and a physician; George Imai, National President of the Canadian Japanese Citizens' Association (CJCA); Dr. A. Wei Djao, Assistant Professor of Sociology at U of S and sister of Irene Chu; Dr. Wilson Head, Chairman of the National Black Coalition; Dr. George Bancroft, of the Faculty of Education at U of T; and Cheuk Kwan, editor of the

Asianadian.[179] Minutes before the event began, Dr. Gordon Chong, a CCCO Director and a founding director of the FCCP, helped Dinah Cheng draft a short speech about the students' grievances and the W5 issue.[180] Addressing the conference attendees and the press, Cheng explained the inaccuracies and racism found in "Campus Giveaway" as well as the student activities of the ACCSG, including their consideration of legal action with the law firm of Pomerant & Devlin.[181] She indicated that the next steps for the budding anti-W5 movement would be political or economic in nature, such as petitioning MPs or boycotting advertisers of W5, with the ultimate goal of presenting "a fair and accurate report to repair the damages occasioned by W5."[182] Combined with the opening remarks from Dr. K. C. Tan of Guelph University, who denounced the malicious incitement of anti-Chinese attitudes from "Howling Helen,"[183] the discussions at the CCCO conference would become dominated by the W5 issue.[184] The conference was undoubtedly the catalyst that brought the "Campus Giveaway" controversy to the attention of the greater Chinese Canadian community, garnering support beyond the student body for the next stage of the anti-W5 movement.

Consolidation and Resistance

The outreach efforts of the students had started a snowball effect. In the winter of 1979, activists and community groups began to consolidate their efforts around the anti-W5 movement. Just three days after the CCCO conference, there were two major meetings organized back-to-back to discuss the W5 issue in Toronto: the first at the ISC, and the second at the Cecil Community Centre. The former was a public forum that was hosted at 4 p.m. by the International Committee Against Racism and the International Students Association at the U of T Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE).[185] Led by civil rights lawyer Charles Roach and Professor Peter Rosenthal, who had both been active in support of Henry Fong in 1975, the

forum related the racism of W5 to the Bette Stephenson and Henry Fong controversies, emphasizing that "according to these racists, the only real Canadian is a white, English Canadian."[186] Though the forum organizers noted that U of T refuted the "Campus Giveaway" statistics, they also denounced the University's quota system which limited the number of international students in professional schools. They called for a retraction of "Campus Giveaway", equal airtime and compensation for Chinese students from CTV, the right to work and an end to quotas and differential fees for international students, and the "active recruitment of minority students."[187]

Three hours later, the ACCSG held a forum at the Cecil Community Centre to discuss the W5 issue among the Chinese Canadian community.[188] As a result of the students' calls for help at the CCCO conference, support from the Chinese Canadian community for the anti-W5 movement had significantly grown. Various Chinese Canadian organizations and their representatives attended the November 14 meeting, including Joseph Wong and the ACRSEA, Winnie Ng and the CCMA, Dr. C. Y. Yeung and the FCCP, and Cheuk Kwan on behalf of *The Asianadian*.[189] From this meeting emerged the idea of establishing an Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 that would lead the charge to demand an apology from CTV.[190] In the following days, the community groups who supported the creation of an Ad Hoc Committee decided that it should be organized under the auspices of the CCCO, which was respected as a reputable and mainstream organization.[191] Given that their conference had spurred the discussion about the W5 issue, the CCCO agreed to the requests and appointed a representative to chair the new Committee. Upon the CCCO assent, the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5 (*An sheng hua lian duikang* W5 *xingdong weiyuanhui*, 安省華聯對抗 W5 行動委員會) was born on November 22, 1979.[192] Its objectives were as follows:

1. To demand a public apology from CTV and an equal opportunity to present a fair and accurate report to repair the damages done by [the] W-5 Programme.
2. To ensure that CTV does not air similar programmes misrepresenting and damaging the image of any ethno-cultural group in the future.
3. To inform the public of the contributions of Chinese Canadians.[193]

The Ad Hoc Committee consisted of representatives from nine organizations and four additional elected individuals. The representatives were Donald Chu for the CCCO, Joseph Wong for the ACRSEA, Cheuk Kwan for the Asianadian Resource Workshop, Norman Kwan for the ACCSG, William Tam for the CCMA, Robert Mark for the Cathay Lions' Club, Norman Chan for the Chinese Cultural Association of Hamilton, C. Y. Yeung for the FCCP, and Gordon Chong for the Mon Sheong Foundation; Kai-Wing Tsang, Lilian Ma, Steven Lam, and Bosco Cheng would serve as the four elected members.[194]

Four of these thirteen members were also appointed to the officer roles of Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, and Treasurer.[195] As the representative of the FCCP, which was seen as a well-established organization that was directly concerned by the W5 attack on Chinese students in professional schools, Dr. C. Y. Yeung was appointed as the first Chairperson of the Committee.[196] Although Irene Chu, as the CCCO conference coordinator, initially intended to take on the role of Vice Chairperson and CCCO representative, her husband Donald Chu believed that she should not be involved as she was already participating in other community activities.[197] Dr. Chu had no prior community engagements and, as a doctor, was seen as a moderating force as well, so he was appointed the CCCO representative and the Vice Chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee.[198] Wong was elected as Secretary and Ma — the only female member — as the Treasurer.[199]

The Ad Hoc Committee was structured around six subcommittees: "Research & Tactical," "Fund Raising," "Resource & Services," "Public Relations," "Publicity," and "Public

Education."[200] Each was composed of volunteers and led by one or two of the Committee members.[201] The Ad Hoc Committee and their volunteers, who were initially mobilized through ACRSEA's existing networks, began to promote awareness, recruit more volunteers, and raise funds for the Committee's activities within Toronto's Chinese community. Building on the community organizations' grassroots tactics, volunteers hosted public forums and screenings of "Campus Giveaway," distributed pamphlets at street corners, and asked passersby for donations. As Irene Chu recalled:

> "You know how the Chinese all go to dim sum on Sunday mornings? All the volunteers and [Cheuk Kwan, Donald Chu, and Joseph Wong] would go to all the Chinese restaurants on Sunday mornings to ask for money. And that's how they got a lot of support."[202]

As volunteers went out on the streets, they also developed relationships with workers and business owners in Chinatown, who would allow the volunteers to put up their posters and ask for donations in their storefronts. In the words of Kai-Wing Tsang:

> "The community at large was very, very nice to us. It's hard to believe that the entire community was so nice to us, especially those working in Chinatown. Because everybody suffered, eh? Everybody put up with a lot of hate."[203]

With little funding, young professionals on the Ad Hoc Committee also would use workplace resources to cut costs. Paul Chan, a volunteer with the Committee, would use his engineering office's photocopiers to reproduce flyers and pamphlets.[204] Lilian Ma had experience with computers through her work in X-ray crystallography and, when she was later elected Ad Hoc Committee Secretary, would record the minutes of all the Committee meetings on IBM 80-column punched cards. To print out the meeting minutes, she would use the computer at her lab in the U of T Department of Biochemistry.[205] In this way, the Ad Hoc Committee adopted a

strategy of grassroots activism in order to maximize their resources and grow their presence in the Chinese Canadian community.

In its early days, members of the Ad Hoc Committee also reached out to other ethnic groups and politicians to obtain endorsements for their cause. Well-established professionals on the Committee utilized their networks to connect with political figures and organizations. For example, Dr. Gordon Chong sat on the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (CCCM), the federal government's mechanism for consultations with ethnic organizations.[206] He obtained assurances through the CCCM from the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Steven Paproski, that the government would look into the W5 issue.[207] The Ad Hoc Committee was seeking to present their case at the CRTC public hearing once CTV's license was to be renewed, so Dr. C. Y. Yeung wrote to the CRTC.[208] The Committee also planned to reach out to English-language media organizations to denounce CTV's "irresponsible journalism,"[209] and had already placed ads in Chinese-language newspapers such as the *Shing Wah Daily News* and the *Chinese Express*.[210]

By early December, members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5 were growing increasingly frustrated with the lack of progress. The CRTC had not replied to them, and many politicians and organizations had simply given them polite statements of support but had not applied pressure onto CTV.[211] Many on the Committee began seriously considering pursuing the students' legal action and calling for public protests. They believed these actions would draw more attention to the anti-W5 movement than the current letter-writing and awareness-raising campaign.[212] These proposals would expose deep fault lines within the Chinese Canadian community between the new generation of progressive activists and the old guard of traditional Chinatown leaders and power brokers. The latter faction fought against the

escalating anti-W5 movement. On the one hand, there were students like Norman Kwan and younger professionals like Joseph Wong, who had an affinity towards social justice and experience in grassroots mobilization; on the other, there were members of the FCCP like C. Y. Yeung or elected politicians like alderman Ying Hope, who were older, well-established, and more conservative in outlook.[213]

For the progressive camp, the FCCP represented the entrenched elites of the community, especially since they had close ties with the incumbent provincial and federal Progressive Conservative governments. The FCCP members worried that their peers who were calling for more action were too radical. In the words of Cheuk Kwan:

> "[The old guard] were looking back at the forties when Chinese couldn't be doctors or engineers. So, the mentality was, 'we made it now, let's not rock the boat. If we don't behave and become good Chinamen, people might take it away from us and we will lose our status.' This is especially so with people in power, in terms of being a professional association or being close to power. [The FCCP] were being supported by those in power. They were not outside of power; they were inside of power."[214]

Some also saw the conservative faction's resistance to public protests and legal action as an attempt to maintain power. Since they acted as brokers between the community and mainstream politics, they wanted to preserve their ability to represent the Chinese Canadian community.[215] This is not to say that all well-off Chinese Canadians were conservative or opposed to the escalating of the movement; Dr. George Woo, a founding director of the FCCP, remained sympathetic to the younger activists,[216] and although the CCCO was seen as a well-established organization,[217] nearly all of its Directors and members supported the proposals for legal action and public demonstrations, including Peter Tsang, Donald Chu, and Irene Chu.[218]

Nonetheless, the four members of the FCCP who sat on the Ad Hoc Committee, including C. Y. Yeung and Gordon Chong, began to mount pressure on the other Committee

members to abandon considering legal action and public protests. The Committee had to decide, within the one month of December, whether it would support the students' lawsuit, as the writ had to be filed before December 31.[219] Given that the students and the ACCSG had already served a letter of intent against CTV with the help of Kai-Wing Tsang and Pomerant & Devlin, most members of the Ad Hoc Committee saw the lawsuit as a viable avenue to increase pressure on CTV. Dinah Cheng had written to Pomerant for his legal opinion and possible fees, and he replied with an optimistic outlook on the case and an expected price range of $1,000 to $25,000 for his honorarium.[220] Although he acknowledged the lack of precedence for a class action lawsuit concerning libel and slander, he stated:

> "While the case is complex, the chance of success is excellent. The need to sue is great, as it is the only realistic method of obtaining redress and preventing further attacks against the Chinese Community in Canada."[221]

To dissuade the Committee, Chong presented legal advice from Thomson & Rogers, "a prominent Toronto law firm identified with the Progressive Conservative Party," which argued that the lawsuit could not be successful precisely due to the lack of legal precedence.[222] Despite the FCCP opposition, the Ad Hoc Committee ultimately voted nine to four in favour of pursuing public demonstrations and legal action on December 17, 1979 after an intense debate at the Mon Sheong Home.[223]

The Ad Hoc Committee vote on the matter did not quell the opposition from the FCCP members, who were later referred to as the "Professional Four."[224] As the rest of the Committee proceeded to act upon the motion passed on December 17, the CCCO Board of Directors held a meeting on January 7, 1980 at Chong's request.[225] There, he tried to pass a motion that would have delivered an ultimatum to the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO: the Committee would be dissolved unless they allowed the writ to expire, took no further legal action, and exchanged

Pomerant & Devlin for the services of Thomson & Rogers.[226] Chong left the meeting early and the lawyer he invited, Gary Hoy, stayed to present his legal opinion.[227] The remaining ten Directors, articling student Kai-Wing Tsang, lawyers Gary Hoy and John Au, and other non-Board members deliberated for more than two and a half hours. In the end, the Board voted unanimously to reject Chong's motion and "offer support, morally and spiritually" to the students and their legal action.[228] As a result, Chong resigned from the CCCO and, along with the other three FCCP members, left the Ad Hoc Committee on January 14, 1980.[229]

In his letter of resignation from the CCCO, Chong claimed that the Legal Section of the FCCP as well as four law firms had all rejected the viability of a lawsuit against CTV, declaring the position of the CCCO "to be unreasonable and ill-advised, [bordering] on utter stupidity!" He also asserted that "certain people connected with the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO and the CCCO Board itself" had "an interest in this matter that goes beyond concern for the Chinese Canadian community," accusing those individuals of flogging the W5 issue and supporting the cause for "self-serving reasons."[230] In response, Peter Tsang of the CCCO noted that the Board had not received any written legal opinions other than that of Thomson & Rogers. More importantly, he emphasized that the CCCO felt that legal action was "an effective means of curbing any further incidents similar to the W5 program," reiterating the need for "a concerted effort by all members of the Canadian society, regardless of any personal differences in opinion."[231] Yeung, the FCCP President and Chairperson of the Committee, also submitted a public letter of resignation on January 15, in which he rejected the "imbalanced representation" of the Ad Hoc Committee, belittled the other members as young and inexperienced for not understanding the lack of legal precedence and potential backlash to the lawsuit, and criticized the Committee for not having the mandate to represent the Chinese Canadian community.[232] On

February 8, 1980, 40 Chinese Canadian students and professionals — including members of the FCCP as well as Ad Hoc Committee volunteers like Paul Chan, Winnie Ng, and Eugene Yao — signed a letter addressed to all FCCP members which refuted Yeung's statements and called on other Federation members to support the anti-W5 movement. Like Tsang, they called for unity, and notably related the Chinese Canadian experience with the American civil rights movement; "Had the American [Black] people followed some leaders who had similar worries of legal precedents or backlash," they wrote, "they would still have no civil rights whatsoever."[233] In the wake of Yeung's resignation, new officers were elected: Donald Chu as Chairperson, Joseph Wong as Vice-Chairperson, Lilian Ma as Secretary, and Cheuk Kwan as Treasurer.

In the meantime, the rest of the Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 had decided on their next course of action. Despite the disagreements with the FCCP, the Chinese Canadian community in Toronto came out in full force for a rally at the Cecil Community Centre on December 19, 1979, with the number of participants going well beyond the auditorium's capacity of 200 people.[234] Inspired by the turnout, the Ad Hoc Committee began plans for a large-scale protest rally on January 26, 1980. They also decided to turn the anti-W5 movement into a national movement, aiming to garner support from across the country and, in the words of Joseph Wong, "show CTV that they were serious."[235] Wong and his wife, Christine Wong, had previously booked a flight to Calgary to visit his brother-in-law Danny Ng during the winter, and so he extended his trip so that he could raise support in other western Canadian cities.[236] With the help of kinship networks and Chinese Canadian community members, Wong hosted public screenings and forums about the W5 issue in Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton during the first week of January 1980.[237]

First arriving in Vancouver's Chinatown, Wong coordinated with the Chinese Benevolent Association (CBA) President Victor Lee to hold a screening at the CBA Building on January 4,

1980.[238] There were so many in the audience that Wong remembers "there was no standing space left."[239] Wong left Vancouver early the next morning, but the first assembly led to another packed screening and discussion about the W5 issue at the CBA Building on January 20.[240] The episode sparked outrage. Ramona Mar, a recent graduate from Simon Fraser University (SFU), journalism student at the British Columbia Institute of Technology (BCIT) and reporter for the *Chinatown News*, recalled:

> "I went down there, taking my notes for *Chinatown News*, not knowing a person in that room. And then they showed that offensive clip, and I thought 'oh my God, that could be me!' I was just a recent university grad, and I was so incensed."[241]

During the meeting, most of the Chinese organizations in Vancouver pledged to create a "united front" against CTV, which led to the establishment of the Ad Hoc Committee of CBA Against W5 Programme.[242] Unlike other CBAs, which were traditionally led by conservative, pro-Kuomintang elites, the Vancouver CBA leadership had been replaced by a progressive group of community organizers in their 1978 open election.[243] Their Ad Hoc Committee membership was composed of a new generation of Chinese Canadian activists, such as artist Sean Gunn, law student Patrick Chen, and journalism student Ramona Mar.[244] To support the CBA Committee, UBC students Tim Stanley, Seline So, Joyce Chan, Dora Nipp, and Philip Calvert came together to form the UBC Subcommittee of the Ad Hoc Committee Against W5.[245] Many of the students were infuriated with "Campus Giveaway" after attending the January 4 meeting; in the words of Dora Nipp, a fourth-year undergraduate in Asian Studies:

> "Here we are, a group of students who had a university education, probably something our parents were denied. [...] Some of the attitudes of the older generation were 'we've made great strides now, you don't have to do these kinds of things, what are you going to accomplish?' And what it did accomplish, was that it generated a discussion, because you think that you're a doctor, a lawyer, or dentist, that there's no discrimination out there? What CTV did was a reality check."[246]

The Committees in Vancouver got to work, hosting screenings of "Campus Giveaway" in Chinatown and on UBC campus, distributing literature about the issue, setting up a petition booth at the corner of Pender St. and Gore Ave. and collecting funds for the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee.[247] By the end of March, they had distributed over 20,000 leaflets and collected over 9,000 signatures to send to CTV in protest.[248]

Joseph Wong's next stop was in Edmonton, where he met with local Chinese Canadian leaders such as Patrick Mah and Randy Wong on January 6, 1980.[249] He left for Calgary the next day to hold a public forum with associations and societies from the Calgarian Chinese community.[250] Also in attendance was Harvie Andre, PC MP for Calgary Centre, who pledged his support for the anti-W5 movement. By January 13, both Edmonton and Calgary had established their own Ad Hoc Committees Against W5, and their first order of business was to organize a public demonstration in front of Edmonton CFRN station, the local affiliate of CTV, to coincide with the Toronto rally scheduled for January 26. With less than two weeks to plan, the Albertan Committees sprung to action, raising awareness about the W5 issue through leafleting, posters, and word of mouth.[251] On January 23, approximately 150 students attended a press conference hosted by Randy Wong and the Ad Hoc Committee of Edmonton, where U of A foreign affairs advisor Ruth Groberman, Federation of Alberta Students (FAS) executive Lake Sagaris, and U of A Students' Union Dean Olmstead all refuted the false information in "Campus Giveaway."[252]

In spite of temperatures in Edmonton being more than twenty degrees below zero on January 26, 1980, over 500 people attended the protest in front of the CFRN.[253] Sporting placards with statements such as "Canada is our Country," they chanted "Down with W5" and "We are Canadian too" outside of the station.[254] Although mostly organized by the Ad Hoc

Committee of Chinese Canadians in Edmonton against W5, the Calgary Ad Hoc Committee sent a contingent of protesters along with banners to participate in the demonstration.[255] The crowd also included approximately 100 U of A students, with representatives from the Chinese Library Association, the CSA, the Malaysian-Singapore Students Association, the Students' Union, and the FAS.[256] A lone counter protester was also present, holding a placard in support of CTV: Jack Pickett, Edmonton's "archetypal racist."[257] At the end of the protest, the Edmonton Ad Hoc Committee organizers submitted a letter of protest to the CFRN station manager Bruce Alloway, who agreed to forward it to CTV. However, Alloway refused to comment on "Campus Giveaway," claiming that he could not due to the legal action initiated by the students in Toronto. Moreover, he told the organizers that CTV has "never knowingly discriminated against any group or individual."[258]

In Toronto, there was a flurry of activity from the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO in preparation for their January 26 rally. Despite all of the Committee members continuing to work or study full time, they persisted in volunteering their time for their awareness-raising campaign and fundraising efforts, with some of their meetings wrapping up as late as four in the morning.[259] Assisting them were more than 600 volunteers who continued to work around the clock, distributing leaflets at street corners, contacting municipal, provincial and federal politicians, and reaching out to other community organizations.[260] When Joseph Wong returned to Toronto, he and Kai-Wing Tsang promoted the W5 issue among other Chinese Canadian communities across Ontario, travelling to Windsor, London, Hamilton, Guelph, and Ottawa.[261] In Windsor, the Chinese community held the first meeting of the Windsor W5 Committee on January 19, and they prepared to send fourteen representatives to the rally in Toronto.[262] Ottawa,

Montreal, Hamilton, and Guelph followed suit, sending members of either their Ad Hoc Committees or Chinese community organizations to Toronto in anticipation of the big event.[263]

The main event on January 26, 1980 began with a rally at 11:00 in the morning, and over a thousand people of all walks of life gathered in the auditorium and eight classrooms at the OISE on U of T campus.[264] Grassroots organizers like Winnie Ng were instrumental in coordinating the rally. Ng was responsible for managing the more than twenty political, ethnic, and civil rights leaders who came to speak.[265] The politicians who spoke included Toronto mayor John Sewell, Liberal MPs Bob Kaplan and Peter Stollery, and a surrogate for Minister of Employment and Immigration Ron Atkey. Dick Beddoes of *The Globe and Mail* awarded the most impactful speech to NDP MP Bob Rae, who said:

> "The assumption from W5 is that to be white is to be Canadian. And that to be non-white is to be a foreigner. What we must understand is that an immigrant is not a foreigner. As Canadians, we are *all* boat people."[266]

Among the ethnic and civil rights leaders were Peter Rosenthal, George Imai, Wilson Head, and Ontario Human Rights Commissioner Bromley Armstrong, and CBIE Director of Foreign Student Affairs John Helliwell was also in attendance.[267] Professor George Bancroft drew deafening applause by declaring: "The programme is polluted in fact. It is polluted in analysis. It is polluted in assumptions. Things that pollute the environment must be cleaned up!"[268]

After an hour and a half of speeches, the audience poured out onto Bloor Street for a 1.4-mile march down to CTV national headquarters, despite temperatures falling to more than ten degrees below zero.[269] Once outside, they were joined by more protesters, and the crowd swelled to well over two thousand people, with representatives from over 160 organizations.[270] Marching behind a huge banner emblazoned with the Ad Hoc Committee's name and carrying dozens of signs, they chanted:

> "CTV Apologize Now! Red, Brown, Black, Yellow, and White — We Canadians Must Unite. Biased Show, W5 Got to Go!"[271]

Led by Ad Hoc Committee members Donald Chu, Joseph Wong, and Cheuk Kwan, the protesters arrived at the CTV building. They were barred from entering.[272] After delivering a letter of protest addressed to CTV President Murray Chercover, they held a press conference on the steps.[273] Chercover did not meet the protesters and sent Lionel Lumb, the producer of "Campus Giveaway," in his stead. Lumb only met with the press, not the Ad Hoc Committee members.[274] He stated that he strongly disagreed with the protesters but, like Alloway in Edmonton, could not comment any further due to the libel suit against the network.[275]

After the press conference, the protesters dispersed. While CTV continued to deny the false statistics and racist messaging in "Campus Giveaway," the rally was a clear show of strength for the anti-W5 movement. In the words of Winnie Ng:

> "The presence of that rally became our strongest bargaining chip. An analogy would be like in a final collective bargaining; I have 90 percent of my community behind me for a strike vote! Either you get us an apology, or we mobilize some more!"[276]

The protests in both Toronto and Edmonton on January 26, 1980 proved to CTV that the Chinese Canadian community was serious about demanding an apology. Their outcry forced CTV to the bargaining table and accelerated and expanded the anti-W5 movement across the country.

Negotiations and Apologies

Facing mounting political and media pressure from the anti-W5 movement, CTV network executives grew concerned about their public image and decided to invite the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO to a meeting on February 5, 1980. Donald Cameron and Lionel Lumb met with Donald Chu and Joseph Wong to discuss the W5 issue, and Chu and Wong reiterated the Committee's demands for a public apology, an episode that compensated for the irresponsible

journalism of "Campus Giveaway," and a promise to not air another racist program.[277] However, these negotiations were not successful, as CTV did not accept any of the requests. Lumb even doubled down, refusing to acknowledge that W5 had misrepresented the statistics.[278]

Meanwhile, the anti-W5 movement was continuing to grow with new volunteers and municipalities joining the fight against CTV. On the same day that the initial negotiations with CTV were taking place, nine members of the Montreal Chinese community decided to consolidate an Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 in their city and scheduled a public meeting for February 10. Representatives from ten Chinese Canadian organizations and over 100 people attended the event, which led to the official establishment of the Montreal Ad Hoc Committee Against W5.[279] With the upcoming federal election on February 18, the Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA in Vancouver hosted an All-Candidates Meeting on February 10 as well, where federal candidates from the ridings of Vancouver East, Kingsway, Centre, and South were invited to debate topics related to immigration, multiculturalism, and the W5 issue.[280] Held at the Marco Polo Restaurant in Chinatown, the CBA had more than 500 people in attendance.[281] Around the same time, the Chinese Canadian community in Victoria came together to form the University of Victoria AMS Ad Hoc Committee against W5 and the Victoria Chinatown Community Ad Hoc Committee Against W5, uniting yet another community against CTV.[282]

On February 9, the student plaintiffs met with Ian Scott and Joseph Wong at the U of T Sigmund Samuel Library to discuss the potential retention of Scott and the Cameron, Brewin & Scott law firm for legal services. Two days later, the Ad Hoc Committee in Toronto decided to replace the students' legal services from Pomerant & Devlin with those of Scott, hiring him to engage in the libel suit and assist in the negotiations with CTV to show that the Committee was serious.[283] Scott worked pro bono, and would later only charge a nominal $100 retainer.[284]

In light of a CRTC announcement about a conference that would be held on Canadian content and balanced programming in the spring of 1980, Ad Hoc Committees nationwide also renewed their efforts in contacting the CRTC about the W5 issue and developing resources that highlighted the mistakes in "Campus Giveaway."[285] With the help of connections within the federal Multiculturalism Directorate, Irene Chu applied for and obtained government funding and help from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) to produce "An Audio-Visual Analysis of W5 - Campus Giveaway," a video rebuttal of "Campus Giveaway" narrated by former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis.[286] On February 15, Cheuk Kwan attended a Toronto City Council meeting on behalf of the Committee. The Council passed a motion introduced by Ying Hope that condemned the irresponsible journalism of "Campus Giveaway," lodged a formal complaint about CTV with the CRTC and called for public hearings.[287] Other Ad Hoc Committees also sent transcripts of the W5 episode alongside annotated corrections of the false statements to the CRTC. They did this to draw the Commission's attention to CTV just as the network's license was up for renewal.

In early March 1980, a new wave of Ad Hoc Committees sprung to life across Canada. On March 14, Dr. Anthony B. Chan, who was teaching at St. Mary's University in Halifax, spearheaded the creation of the Nova Scotia Chinese Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 with representatives from the Asian Film Workshop, the Chinese Society of Nova Scotia, the Halifax Chinese Cultural Centre, and the Dal Tech Chinese Students' Association.[288] As one of the co-founders of *The Asianadian*, Chan represented the Asianadian Resource Workshop and took on the role of Committee coordinator.[289] Meanwhile, Cheuk Kwan travelled to Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina, and Calgary, with the aim of further expanding the anti-W5 movement in the Prairie Provinces.[290] Going first to Winnipeg, Kwan was introduced to Dr. Yantai Tsai of the

University of Manitoba, who would help establish the Manitoba Ad Hoc Committee Against W5 on March 15.[291] They immediately began to reach out to political and community leaders, including Lloyd Axworthy, the new federal Liberal Minister of Employment and Immigration; Bill Norrie, Mayor of Winnipeg; and Steve Patrick, the CRTC Commissioner for Manitoba.[292]

Before arriving next in Saskatoon, Irene Chu had connected Kwan with her sister Dr. Djao, who taught at the University of Saskatoon. With the help of students and colleagues, Djao had been organizing anti-W5 efforts at U of S since the fall of 1979.[293] When Kwan landed in Saskatoon, she offered him a place to stay and brought him to meet with local Chinese community leaders.[294] He was also able to take a day trip to Regina, where he met with the major Chinese organizations in the city.[295] These organizations, including the Chinese Cultural Society of Saskatchewan (Regina Branch), the Chinese Student Association of the University of Regina, and the Chinese Language School of Regina, came together to form the Ad Hoc Committee of Regina Against W5.[296] Prior to his return to Toronto, Kwan visited Calgary, where he presented updates from Toronto and Vancouver's Ad Hoc Committees.[297]

Although the anti-W5 movement now spanned from coast to coast, CTV continued to support most of the claims in "Campus Giveaway." The W5 program released a statement entitled "W5 Reply: Foreign Students in Canada" in early March, in which they continued to reiterate that all international students are Chinese and vice versa.[298] By citing various reports on international students in Canada out of context, they maintained their position that most international students were wealthy Hong Kong elites who were draining Canadian taxpayer dollars.[299] Even worse, they concluded their Reply by stating that:

> "[Far] more disturbing than accusations of inaccuracies in our facts, are attempts and threats to refer W5 to the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission and the

> Canadian Human Rights Commission to shut us up once and for all. It seems that freedom of speech is pretty low on the list of priorities these days."[300]

On March 16, 1980, W5 suddenly pivoted. Without consulting the Chinese Canadian communities, CTV had Helen Hutchinson deliver a public apology during that night's episode of W5, in which she addressed "two groups of Canadians: the universities [...] and the Chinese Canadian community."[301] W5 apologized for its initial claim of 100,000 foreign students in Canada and reduced their estimate to 58,000. It claimed that CTV had offered to "seek ways of resolving the situation" and falsely accused the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee of not responding to their request.[302] Hutchinson went on to say:

> "It was never our intention in doing the program to give offense to any Canadian community: W5 sincerely regrets any offense that may have been unintentionally given to the Chinese Canadian community."[303]

This apology was initially welcomed by some education officials; for example, Helliwell of the CBIE appreciated the "conciliatory tone of the apology."[304] More conservative Chinese Canadians, such as the FCCP and alderman Ying Hope, also tentatively accepted the apology.[305] Many Chinese Canadians, however, were incensed by what they perceived to be a non-apology, and Ad Hoc Committees across the country unanimously rejected the statement.[306] The Ad Hoc Committee in Toronto charged that "the statement did absolutely nothing in addressing the core issue of the resentment and anger created by the "Campus Giveaway" programme," as it did not admit any fault for the racist implication that all Chinese were foreign nor the extensive list of false statistics presented in the episode.[307] They concluded their reply to the CTV apology by pointing out:

> "In essence, the W5 statement [...] was a statement of divide-and-conquer tactic which was calculated to destroy the combined pressure from the university communities, from many politicians and well-known public figures, from the Chinese Canadian community, and from the general Canadian public. If CTV was successful in relieving that pressure, it

> would be naive to expect CTV to work seriously with the Ad Hoc Committee to seek ways of rectifying the damage done."[308]

Instead of defusing the pressure from the Ad Hoc Committees, the CTV apology on March 16 renewed their resolve in demanding reparations from the network.

For their part, CTV responded to the Chinese Canadian outrage with confusion, denying that the statement was intended to diffuse their anger. W5 producer Lionel Lumb said: "I don't understand these complaints. The statement was expressed with sincere regret."[309] In light of the CTV refusal to admit wrongdoing, the Ad Hoc Committees hosted even more screenings of "Campus Giveaway" and distributed leaflets and bulletins to inform the public that the fight was not over. In Vancouver, the Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA called for supporters to "press ahead with the protest and to support our application to the CRTC for a public hearing,"[310] and in Toronto, posters urged the Chinese community to continue to stand up, with one stating: "We are not satisfied! We do not accept! Everyone must unite, continue to argue for what is right, and sustain the anti-W5 movement."[311] Given that CTV had not met any of their demands, the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO voted to mount "a more concerted effort among all cities and a coordination of pressure tactics at the national level," deciding to host a national meeting of all the Ad Hoc Committees in Toronto on the weekend of April 18-20, 1980.[312]

With the anti-W5 movement aiming to further consolidate and expand their activities on the national level, CTV was brought back to the negotiating table. CTV invited the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee to a meeting on April 3, and the Committee decided to send Cheuk Kwan, Paul Chan, and a junior lawyer from Ian Scott's law firm to negotiate with the network.[313] In a CTV boardroom, the trio reiterated the demands of the Ad Hoc Committee, that is, a full public apology that addressed the racism in "Campus Giveaway," a promise to not misrepresent any

other ethnocultural group in the future, and equal airtime in a future W5 episode to highlight the contributions of Chinese Canadians.[314] At this point, CTV executives were much more conciliatory and apologetic. As Chan recalls: "[CTV] was actually quite cooperative. They knew, eh? They knew they had done something wrong."[315]

In a subsequent meeting on April 15, CTV President Murray Chercover delivered a second apology that more fully addressed the concerns of the Ad Hoc Committee.[316] Kwan and Chan took the new apology back to the Committee, who voted to ratify the statement. In a day-long session on April 16, the Committee representatives and CTV discussed the details of the apology and settlement package.[317] That afternoon, Chercover issued the public statement on behalf of CTV, admitting that "Campus Giveaway" was "racist in tone and effect" and apologizing "for the fact that Chinese-Canadians were depicted as foreigners."[318] He stated:

> "Right after the program was broadcast, our critics — particularly Chinese-Canadians and the universities — criticized the program as racist: They were right, although it was never our intention to produce a racist program."[319]

Chercover also declared that CTV had initiated a "better system of checks and balances in respect to editorial content and presentation of programs," and Marge Anthony, the network's public relations director, said that the person "chiefly responsible for the 'distortions'" was "no longer with us."[320] In their settlement, CTV also agreed to air a show about unconscious racism in the next season of W5.[321] Finally, Lionel Lumb resigned from CTV on October 16, 1980. When asked about his departure, CTV Vice-President Donald Cameron admitted that Lumb's resignation was not "standard procedure," saying: "That was just between him and me. That was an internal thing. You know, people quit."[322]

The Ad Hoc Committees and organizers were overjoyed about the apology. For the activists, the anti-W5 movement was a watershed moment. Chinese Canadians — who were

stereotyped as "politically docile" — mobilized communities across the country to force a major media network to apologize.[323] In the words of Joseph Wong: "It was a hard-earned effort. We did not get [the apology] because we were lucky; we won it, with our effort, with blood and sweat."[324] With other Ad Hoc Committees arriving in Toronto for what was scheduled to be a conference about coordinating efforts against CTV, the attention of the activists turned towards establishing a national body for Chinese Canadians.[325] The idea was initially sparked by an audience member who attended Wong's screening of "Campus Giveaway" in Edmonton. Worried about future attacks on the Chinese Canadian community, they asked: "What if there's a W6, W7? Will you be scrambling across the country, to re-organize everyone again?"[326]

From April 18 to 20, 1980, representatives from sixteen Ad Hoc Committees gathered at Hart House on the U of T campus to discuss establishing a national organization. In the conference's opening remarks, Dr. Donald Chu called for a national organization that would unite Chinese Canadians and be "sustained indefinitely."[327] Over the next two days, the delegates negotiated the details of such an organization, such as the issue of regional representation and the name of the organization. One of the key topics of debate was the question raised by Dr. A. Wei Djao of sexism faced by Chinese Canadian women.[328] Djao was partly inspired by her meetings with Chinese associations in Saskatoon when she was trying to mobilize them to support the anti-W5 movement; in her words:

> "Of course, there were no women representatives from Chinatown [at those meetings]; they were all older men [...] and you could see that they were uncomfortable with me, as someone bringing the message. Just aside from that, in every area, the gender issue was, to me, an important issue. I became sensitive to racial and ethnic issues through feminist studies. [...] I was quite aware of all of those issues, and certainly all of those issues applied to the Chinese."[329]

She proposed, on behalf of the Chinese Canadian Women's Caucus at the conference, that the national organization include women's rights and an affirmative action programme for Chinese Canadian women as one of its core policies and integrate a Women's Secretariat within its main structure.[330] Her proposal was not accepted by the other representatives, who were almost all men, on the basis that the issue of racial equality was the organization's core purpose; thus, they required unity from all Chinese Canadians, including the conservative and traditional Chinatown associations. Djao was disappointed with the response from her fellow delegates, recalling: "I could see that [the delegates] wanted to focus on race or ethnic issues, but you cannot divorce it from the gender issue either."[331]

Ultimately, the delegates founded the Chinese Canadian National Council for Equality (CCNCE) on April 19, 1980, with Dr. Joseph Y. K. Wong as its first President.[332] On April 20, the CCNCE ratified the settlement package with CTV and held a press conference with Minister of State for Multiculturalism Jim Fleming to announce their purpose: "to safeguard the dignity and equality of all Chinese Canadians and other ethnic groups in this country."[333] To celebrate the victory of the anti-W5 movement and the founding of the CCNCE, the organization held a banquet at the International Restaurant in Toronto's Chinatown.[334] Initially only booking 50 tables on the main floor of the restaurant, the organizers had to open the venue's second floor as more than 1,000 people streamed in for the celebration. Members of the Ad Hoc Committee were worried about potential disruptions or counter-protests at the event, and Larry Au, their Chief of Security, even had to confiscate machetes secretly stored behind the restaurant's bar. The event went smoothly and was attended by politicians, community leaders, and media representatives, including various MPs and MPPs as well as the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China.[335] The mood was jubilant. Beginning with just a handful of students, the anti-

W5 movement had grown into a well-organized national protest in a period of six months, successfully acquiring an apology from CTV. With the establishment of the CCNCE, it seemed like a new era of Chinese Canadian unity and community activism had begun.

Chapter Three: The Significance of the Anti-W5 Movement

"We had to be reasonable, we had to be logical, but we had to show CTV that we were determined. We would not withdraw unless we got the final victory. We had the resources and everything on our side to back us up. The government was behind us. The media was behind us. The community was behind us. Other ethnocultural organizations were behind us."

- Joseph Wong to author

For all intents and purposes, the anti-W5 movement was successful insofar as it achieved every stated goal of the Ad Hoc Committees. "Campus Giveaway" was a powerful reminder that despite the efforts of Chinese Canadians to be accepted into Canadian society and achieve higher education, they were still seen as a foreign monolith which threatened white supremacy. In this sense, it is impossible to divorce the history of the anti-W5 movement from the present day. There is a clear continuity between "Campus Giveaway" and recent examples of anti-Asian racism in the twenty-first century, from the November 2010 article by *Maclean's* entitled "Too Asian?" to the spike in anti-Asian hate crimes during the COVID-19 pandemic.[336] Therefore, the legacy of the anti-W5 movement is more complex, demonstrating the power of systemic and institutional racism and the great difficulty required to dismantle such structures. Certain groups involved in the movement found the CTV apology insufficient, whereas others were disappointed with the unrealized potential of the CCNCE. This chapter will first explore how the Ad Hoc Committees were able to obtain the apology from CTV. Then, it will reflect on the criticisms and consequences of the anti-W5 movement, connecting its history with the present.

The Keys to Success

In terms of its tactics, the anti-W5 activists were able to successfully mobilize the Chinese Canadian community and effectively manage relationships with politicians, educational and civil liberties institutions, news media, and other community groups to coalesce a broad coalition against CTV. In his report to the CCNCE entitled *Political Activism and Chinese*

Canadians -- The W-5 Movement, Cheuk Kwan lists six reasons for their victory: full community support; the clearly racist nature of "Campus Giveaway"; the "mass organization and mobilization of volunteers"; their "presence in the community"; their potent publicity and public relations campaign; and the national scale of the movement.[337] In addition to a small but significant group of active volunteers, Kwan estimates that a large majority of the Chinese community supported the anti-W5 cause, and many of them did turn out for a variety of public forums, fundraising events, and protest rallies.[338] He states that the volunteers primarily consisted of young middle-class professionals with no prior activist experiences, who were mostly new immigrants living outside of Chinatown. Their profiles assuaged the "traditional suspicion among most Chinatown residents" that those in community leadership positions were seeking to promote their own "self-interest in the development of Chinatown."[339] Through their grassroots street-level outreach and fundraising efforts in the Chinatown community, the anti-W5 activists were also able to demonstrate that they were "workers," and not the "traditional 'all-talk-no-action' types."[340] Anthony B. Chan, in his book *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World*, emphasizes these last two points as the "two major reasons for the success of the anti-W5 movement."[341] In addition, the lawsuit from the five student plaintiffs was a core pressure tactic for the anti-W5 movement, and it contributed to bringing CTV to the bargaining table.[342]

Kwan and Chan's analysis address the key reasons for the success of the anti-W5 movement, particularly regarding the localized and community-based nature of the movement being amplified on a national scale. The historical context leading up to the events of 1979-80 had also brought together the right people at the right time. From the introduction of differential tuition fees and work restrictions to the increasingly hostile rhetoric from the likes of Bette Stephenson and conservative politicians, international students already faced immense

difficulties to access Canadian education. “Campus Giveaway,” which claimed that most international students were Chinese elites who easily could access Canadian educational institutions, was a blatant and outrageous mischaracterization of the hardships that they endured. Imbued within the hostility towards international students was an undercurrent of anti-Chinese discrimination, which treated all Chinese, regardless of citizenship status, as a threat to white English Canadian dominance in Canadian schools and professional positions. For Chinese Canadian students and professionals, who had fought for the right to become doctors, lawyers, and engineers just a generation ago, this kind of racism was a persistent invalidation of their struggles to be seen as equals in Canada. The introduction of the multiculturalism policy and the emergence of the Asian Canadian identity contributed to a greater ethnic sensitivity. Many Chinese in Canada, particularly with the arrival of immigrant professionals, began to claim their rightful location in the fabric of the Canadian multicultural mosaic.

The revising of racial criteria in the immigration system, which opened the doors for many new Chinese Canadian immigrants, also contributed to two factors which set the stage for the anti-W5 movement: the wave of professional immigrants primarily from Hong Kong, and the physical and political transition of power from traditional Chinatown organizations to new Chinese Canadian social justice and social welfare associations. Prior to 1967, Chinese Canadian academics and professionals, such as Joseph Wong, Paul Chan, and Lilian Ma, were rare.[343] After all, Chinese Canadians were not allowed to practice professions such as law, medicine, and pharmacy until after the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1947. The large majority of these new middle-class professionals were from Hong Kong, where some were politicized through student-led resistance to British colonial rule in the early 1970s.[344] Others who had arrived in North America for university, like Winnie Ng and Cheuk Kwan, attributed their

political awakening to the *Diao Yu Tai* incident in 1970, when thousands of overseas Chinese students protested against the Japanese claims of sovereignty over the Diaoyutai Islands in the East China Sea.[345] This new, politically conscious generation of Hong Kong-born students and professionals had the luxury of time, and in some cases the financial means, to spend on activism which, in turn, allowed them to become increasingly involved in Chinese Canadian community organizing during the 1970s.[346]

In the meantime, traditional Chinatown organizations, such as the Chinese Benevolent Associations and the district and surname associations, both of which served important roles in the growth of North American Chinatowns, were losing their dominant position in Chinese Canadian communities.[347] Their conservative outlook and their focus on "old world politics" — their persistent support for the Kuomintang and the Republic of China — were at odds with the Canada's new world view. Canada's recognition of the People's Republic of China in October 1970 emboldened left-leaning and younger overseas Chinese to engage in community politics.[348] Moreover, the wave of primarily Hong Kong-born immigrants were increasingly settling outside of Chinatown in the 1970s and had fewer connections with the traditional organizations, which they saw as legacies of the *lo wah kiu* (*lao hua qiao*, 老華僑), or "old timers."[349] These new immigrants would come to establish their own organizations to meet new social, political and economic realities — such as the ACRSEA, the CCMA, and even the CCCO. These new bodies addressed broader community needs beyond the prescribed space of Chinatown, which would later serve as the foundation for the Ad Hoc Committees Against W5.[350]

Through these new social justice and social welfare organizations, Chinese Canadian leaders began building stronger relationships with external actors such as politicians, English-language media, and other ethnic communities, and their community work granted them more

recognition in Canadian society at large. Their new contributions, combined with their rapidly increasing population, helped Chinese Canadians to gain more mainstream political capital, which was important to federal politicians ahead of the election on February 18, 1980. As Kwan notes, this is one of the major reasons why politicians from all political parties supported the anti-W5 movement.[351] Inspired by the American civil rights movement, these new organizations also began building anti-racist and interethnic solidarity through relationships with other ethnic community associations; many of these groups, notably the Black, Jewish, South Asian, and Japanese Canadian communities, later came together to support Chinese Canadians and denounce "Campus Giveaway."[352]

Another key factor in the success of the anti-W5 movement was "Campus Giveaway" itself. Unlike the remarks of Bette Stephenson, which were addressed to a narrow group of doctors, CTV W5 was a popular news magazine with a large national audience. The anti-W5 movement was able to gain more momentum because criticism of a well-recognized television network easily caught the attention of the general public and other English-language news media, making it onto the front pages of multiple editions of newspapers such as the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. In addition, the audiovisual aspect of a television episode evoked a stronger emotional response to "Campus Giveaway" than if it were a written statement. Many who watched the episode were shocked that the camera singled out Chinese faces. This visual impact was amplified as anti-W5 activists pointed out during screenings that nearly all the students shown were Canadian. In the words of Joseph Wong:

> "That's why I give a lot of credit to the Beta cassette tape, because no matter how good you are in conveying your story, it is never as much as you can feel from watching the story itself, unfolding in front of you on the TV."[353]

The name recognition of CTV and the visuality of "Campus Giveaway" contributed to the success of the anti-W5 movement. The episode became a lightning rod that united Chinese Canadians against not only CTV, but against racism in the media at large. As Patrick Chen, Chairman of the Vancouver Ad Hoc Committee, stated after the April 16 apology: "Ethnic groups have never received [favourable] portrayal in the visual media. This is just the most recent and blatant example."[354]

The Anti-W5 Legacy

To many, the anti-W5 movement was a watershed moment in Canadian history. It was the first time Chinese Canadians had organized a protest on such a large scale, and it was the first time that a major network openly apologized to a racialized community.[355] For young Chinese Canadian students, it was a political awakening to fight back against racism. Norman Kwan nearly failed his second year of dentistry for the time he spent on the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO. He recalls:

> "I never really was a politically active person anyways, in Hong Kong or here. But somehow, that program was so powerful, it just hit a nerve. I remember there was an old Chinese Canadian [...] who was always involved in [Ad Hoc Committee] meetings and stuff. He paid the head tax to come here, and he told me that when he was walking, the kids would spit or call him names, and that he would reply: 'hey, I was here before you were born! How long do I have to be here to be called Canadian?' And those things really hit home, because if I decided to call Canada home and had kids here, would they forever be considered an outsider, a foreigner?"[356]

This cohort of students who were first exposed to community organizing and anti-racist campaigning through the anti-W5 movement would join a whole new generation of Chinese Canadian activists. The movement was spearheaded by these students and younger professionals, not the traditional power brokers. Cheuk Kwan recalls the strategy of Toronto Ad Hoc Committee members as they travelled across the country to spark new Ad Hoc Committees in

other cities: “At the end of the day, it was about finding the right champion. A doctor there and a lawyer here, who were young, progressive, and willing to take up the cause.”[357] These activists’ experiences with the W5 issue would provide them with crucial grassroots experience in community mobilization. According to Dora Nipp:

> “You’ve figured out how the system works. You know how to write letters to the editor and press releases. You know how to get people out to demonstrations. You know who to call if you need allies. That’s what W5 started — it gave us a little more solid footing.”[358]

Moreover, the anti-W5 movement thrust these activists into the national spotlight, granting them recognition within the Chinese community and beyond. In doing so, a more diverse group of progressive community organizers obtained more influence in Chinese communities, broadening the range of voices who spoke on behalf of Chinese Canadians. In the words of Winnie Ng, this was part of the process of “cracking open spaces that were so open to the old timers.”[359]

Still, some were not satisfied with the outcome of the anti-W5 movement. To assert equality for the Chinese in Canada, the Ad Hoc Committees relied on the citizenship status of landed immigrants and Chinese Canadians. In doing so, they drew from what Roland Sintos Coloma calls “the discursive enactment of ‘ethno-nationalism’.” He explains the phrase: “[when ethnic minorities appropriate and associate] themselves with national citizenship in order to be regarded as full-fledged members of the civil society” and “redress their marginalized status and conditions.”[360] This appeal to the equality of citizenship and history of residence in Canada was powerful. For instance, alderman Ying Hope declared: “I am deeply shocked to think that having been born here myself and having lived my entire life here, that a program such as W5 may consider me, or my children, to be foreign as well.”[361] However, this possessive hinging of equality upon Canadian citizenship excluded international students — who were the direct targets of W5 — from the CTV apology, solely due to their status as non-citizens. At the press

conference on April 20, 1980, Donald Chu acknowledged the lack of redress for international students, stating:

> "I regret that the international students' issue has not been explicitly addressed, though it was alluded in CTV's apology. International students have not proven to displace Canadians from their places in our universities. Their presence only contributes to the richness of our culture. If there is any hostility created towards them by this incident, I am sure we all sincerely express our regrets."[362]

Though this strategy of relying on the Chinese Canadian identity was effective in appealing to Canadians for support, international students were ultimately left behind.

Some of those involved in the anti-W5 movement also found the CTV apology to be insufficient in terms of repairing the damages done by "Campus Giveaway." For the original student plaintiffs, such as Dinah Cheng and Norman Kwan, the decision-making process surrounding the lawsuit was out of their hands once they allowed the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO to take over in support of their cause. Although the Committee initially considered the action legally viable, Kai-Wing Tsang, who continued to provide legal advice even after Joseph Pomerant was replaced by Ian Scott, strongly advised against pursuing the case in court as he thought it would have been unlikely for the plaintiffs to win due to the lack of precedence.[363] Thus, the lawsuit became a tool with which the Committee could threaten CTV, but they did not intend to follow through with legal action, and Cameron, Brewin & Scott prompted the student plaintiffs for instructions on how to proceed on May 14, 1980.[364] The students were disappointed that the Ad Hoc Committee was dropping the case, arguing that CTV should have provided more reparations. They pointed out that although Pomerant had acknowledged the lack of precedence for a class action suit concerning libel and slander, he had stated that the action was "available and realistic."[365] Kwan, who represented the students on the Committee, said:

> "I fought the Committee tooth and nail. Every meeting, up until two o'clock in the morning, they wanted me to drop it, and I said no. [CTV] had to have some real retribution. I didn't want the money, but the money could go to the Committee — get a statue, a program, whatever! They just had to pay. I remember fighting every one of them at every meeting. [...] At the end, we just had no support. I was the only one who was holding out, as a rabble rouser, I guess. But I had no support, so I dropped it. I guess the objective was done, and people moved on."[366]

The student plaintiffs held on to the libel case long after the April 16 apology: Jenny Lee did not sign off on discontinuing the lawsuit until late June, and Dinah Cheng persevered until July 4.[367] Cheng asked: "So they apologized, and then what? How come we are not asking them to do something more?"[368] The student frustrations were a prominent example of some anti-W5 activists feeling as though CTV had not done enough to apologize. As per the settlement with CTV, the CCNCE decided to use their promised episode of W5 not to portray the achievements of Chinese Canadians, but to shine a light on systemic racism for all visible minorities.[369] Entitled "White and Bright," the W5 episode on December 7, 1980 exposed discriminatory hiring practices in employment agencies by having an investigator pose as an employer who requested only white job candidates.[370] However, the episode did not mention "Campus Giveaway" nor attract much attention from the general public.[371] In a subsequent radio program of Pender Guy, hosts Barry Wong and Ramona Mar expressed disappointment in "White and Bright," with Wong commenting: "'White and Bright' doesn't really reverse the impact of 'Campus Giveaway,' it just pokes in another direction."[372]

Despite a strong campaign to lobby for political support, particularly ahead of the February 1980 federal election, there were also no repercussions for CTV from provincial and federal governments or the CRTC. The Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA in Vancouver was particularly concerned with bringing the W5 issue to the attention of federal politicians, putting it at the centre of the CBA's three-riding All-Candidates Debate on February 10, 1980. All the

participants denounced "Campus Giveaway,"[373] and the Committee of the CBA later urged the winners, PC MP Pat Carney and NDP MPs Ian Waddell and Margaret Mitchell, to bring up the W5 issue in Parliament.[374] Though Waddell and Mitchell did call for action against CTV in the House of Commons, no legislative action was pursued.[375]

One of the major legacies of the anti-W5 movement was the establishment of the CCNCE, which was the first national umbrella organization of its kind that sought to represent all Chinese Canadians.[376] However, the exclusion of women's rights from the core values of the organization alienated some women from the outset. According to Xiaoping Li, Asian Canadian women face unique challenges as a result of their identities and thus struggled to fit into social justice movements of the 1960s and 1970s: the feminist movements were predominantly white middle-class women, and racial justice movements were predominantly men.[377] As Wei Djao reflected about her own experiences:

> "Some of the feminists I knew were racists. By the same token, some of the Chinese race and ethnic relations experts were the most sexist individuals. And when you're a woman of colour, you could never get both together, and yet it must be done."[378]

Both Lilian Ma and Winnie Ng also agreed that the patriarchy affected the CCNCE, just as it did in the Chinese community and society at large. As Ng noted, many of these gendered norms are deeply rooted and often internalized:

> "Some of us [women] were so involved in the background organizing that we felt like it wasn't our "place" to speak at that Hart House meeting. But that's also part of that unlearning I went through on my own, and relearning, about how do you assert and put yourself forward in positions that would recognize me as whole."[379]

The rejection of a strong feminist policy that could have highlighted the importance of intersectionality was the first sign of the tensions arising from the CCNCE as an umbrella organization. On the one hand, the organization was built on a progressive and grassroots

movement; on the other, the leadership of the CCNCE had to be pragmatic and make concessions in order to remain the national representative for the Chinese Canadian community. In *Gold Mountain*, Chan argues that the acceptance of government funding from the Minister of State for Multiculturalism neutered any radically progressive aspirations for the organization, which later dropped the "Equality" in October 1981 to simply become the Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC).[380] In the words of Winnie Ng:

> "It was the only way that could consolidate a movement that could be seen as 'national' and recognized by mainstream media and politicians as a 'national' organization. Had we radicalized and gone into more grassroots, more radical politics, we would have lost that strand of being seen as national. But that shouldn't have precluded us from pushing for more progressive politics, and I think this is where sometimes younger folks get cynical, is that you have that layer where things get bureaucratized and there's the funders' good grace. There's always that tension, 'you can't bite the hand that feeds you.' So how do you find that fine balance for progressive-based organizing?"[381]

This is not to say that the CCNC was idle. On the contrary, it was the first to advocate for head tax redress and stood up against other misrepresentations of Chinese Canadians in the media.[382] However, its support was fractured by Chinese political dynamics and the emergence of the pro-Beijing National Congress of Chinese Canadians (NCCC) in the 1990s, and over the years most municipal chapters of the CCNC have since become inactive.[383] Although national support for the CCNC diminished, the organization has endured through the work of its Toronto branch (CCNC Toronto) and the CCNC for Social Justice (CCNC-SJ) founded in 2019.[384] Nonetheless, this dichotomy between promoting progressive politics and consolidating an umbrella coalition begs the question of whether it is preferable, or even possible, to maintain a national organization for a demographic as heterogeneous in origin, dialect, class, and political beliefs as Chinese Canadians.

The W5 issue also ties into a broader history of racism and anti-racism initiatives in Canada. During the events of 1979-80, anti-W5 activists were acutely aware of the historical anti-Chinese tropes being reproduced by CTV, pointing out that the episode evoked images of yellow peril, relegated Chinese Canadians as perpetual foreigners, and preyed on white economic anxieties to scapegoat the Chinese community.[385] "Campus Giveaway" — and its preludes, the Bette Stephenson controversy and Henry Fong Case — embodied the paradox of the Chinese Canadian experience. On the one hand, Chinese Canadians were economically desirable model minorities; on the other, they were an unassimilable "Oriental" threat to white Canadians. Chinese students in Canada — regardless of visa or citizenship status — were collectively accused of working too hard and studying too much, preventing white students from accessing what they saw as rightfully theirs, that is placements in domestic institutions of higher education.

Crucially, the vast majority of those who perpetuated these anti-Chinese tropes, including Stephenson or the W5 production team led by Lionel Lumb, deny that they are racists and seem to genuinely believe this to be the case. "Campus Giveaway" was not the result of some individual "bad apples" with explicitly racist beliefs. Instead, the episode is a product of implicit presumptions that are deeply embedded "within the normal functioning of media processes, structures, agenda, and output."[386] Then as it is now, this structural racism is frequently overlooked in Canada, as many only perceive racism as "either something that occurred in the past (i.e., before multiculturalism) or as an isolated action performed by social deviants."[387] As a result, individuals and institutions who express racist views often deny any racism on their part and accuse anti-racist activists for bringing race into the picture.

Much of this racist rhetoric about Chinese and Asian Canadians persists. At the University of British Columbia, it is not difficult to find someone who would jokingly call their

campus the "University of Billions of Chinese"; or complain about the number of Asian international students while asserting that they are absolutely not racists. In November 2010, *Maclean's* magazine published an article entitled "Too Asian?", which accused Asian students of studying too hard and not integrating into white Canadian culture, rendering Canadian campuses into "ethnic ghettos" and ruining the "party scene" for their protagonists, a pair of white private school girls in Toronto applying for university.[388] Like "Campus Giveaway," "Too Asian?" sparked outrage against the blatant stereotyping of Asian students as over-working and unassimilable nerds, and many asked what being "too Asian" even meant.[389] In a striking parallel to how "Campus Giveaway" asked U of T administration and the CBIE for their official statistics, only to dismiss them as being too politically correct to divulge the "truth" about foreign students, *Maclean's* cites U of T and Waterloo officials rejecting any problem with Asian students on campus, but then alleges that they are in a "state of denial" about the issue.[390] When confronted by nationwide protests and criticism online, *Maclean's* engaged in racial gaslighting. They changed the title to "The Enrollment Controversy," published a reply arguing that they were simply advocating against racial quotas that would limit Asians on campus (a non-issue that no one was concerned about), and then never backed down or apologized.[391] In doing so, they learned from the mistakes made by CTV during the anti-W5 movement, successfully diffusing the momentum of the campaign against them and then merely waiting for the rest of the protests against "Too Asian?" to die out.

As a young Chinese Canadian myself, it is easy to be cynical about what seems like a lack of progress since the days of "Campus Giveaway." Anti-racist activism is difficult and incremental. Dismantling the deeply embedded structures of racism and white supremacy is no easy feat. Many of the anti-W5 activists I spoke with were disappointed to see the lack of

apology from *Maclean's* or the swelling rise of anti-Asian violence throughout the COVID-19 pandemic. These seem like a setback for racial equality. But every generation faces a "Campus Giveaway" moment. In the face of adversity, we have seen the community unite around a common cause and a new group of young activists are launched into the limelight. In the words of Dora Nipp:

> "I never want to say that W5 was the start of the Chinese community's strength when it came to protesting. You have to give credit to those who came before you. There are new issues that your generation faces because those who came before you dealt with different issues. They knocked them off the table so that you can go to different universities, you can immigrate here, you can become a doctor or a lawyer. That was all very hard fought for by the generations who came before. So, I see W5 as the contemporary issue that that generation had to respond to."[392]

Despite some criticism, the anti-W5 movement was indeed a watershed moment for Chinese Canadians, uniting the diverse community on a national scale. They honed skills and employed a large range of tactics, including petitions, rallies, forums, advertisements, community networks, media relations, political lobbying, and legal action, to successfully demand an apology from CTV, a major media network. For so many young Chinese Canadians at the time, this was their first experience with community activism. Galvanized by their experiences with the W5 issue, they would go on to become changemakers and community leaders in their own right.

Conclusion

Throughout the 1970s, rising anti-Chinese racism in higher education and the emergence of new Chinese community organizations laid the groundwork for CTV W5's "Campus Giveaway" and the effective mobilization of the anti-W5 movement, respectively. Growing from a small group of students to a nationwide network of Ad Hoc Committees led by students, younger professionals, and academics, the movement succeeded because of their grassroots organizing in Chinese communities, strong awareness-raising and fundraising efforts, the threat of legal action, and outreach to politicians, human rights institutions, social justice organizations, and other ethnocultural communities. "Campus Giveaway" also provided a vital catalyst for the movement, as CTV's name-recognition and the visuals of the episode amplified its racist affect for audiences across the country. These factors maintained the political momentum of the movement, supporting their hard work through more than six months to obtain an apology from CTV. CTV's concession to the Toronto Ad Hoc Committee's demands on April 16, 1980 was a milestone for combatting racial prejudice in the media, and ultimately CTV fully acknowledged their faults and promised to never air such a racist program again.

While the public apology by CTV was a significant moment for Chinese Canadians, there were some who felt that the apology, accompanied by the "White and Bright" episode, was not enough restitution for "Campus Giveaway's" racist portrayal. Moreover, the centering of Canadian citizenship within the anti-W5 movement's calls for racial equality sidelined the concerns of international students, who were actually the intended targets of "Campus Giveaway." Though CTV fully addressed the concerns of Chinese Canadians, they did not apologize to foreign students, and very few activists championed their cause. Finally, the rejection of the feminist policy at the founding of the CCNCE and the number of unrealized

hopes that were placed on the organization cast a shadow on the direct legacy of the anti-W5 movement. Yet, many young Chinese Canadians involved in the movement were able to witness these challenges firsthand, and values such as intersectionality and inclusion would become centered in the campaigns and organizations that this new generation of activists would come to manage.

This thesis seeks to provide an academic foundation for future research about the anti-W5 movement. There remains many more sources and aspects of the anti-W5 movement that could be explored. Chinese-language newspapers such as the *Shing Wah Daily News* and the *Chinese Canadian Community News* played a significant role in raising awareness about the W5 issue. However, there is still little research on how dynamics between newspapers affiliated with either old guard Chinese Canadians or the new immigrants from Hong Kong affected the coverage and promotion of the anti-W5 cause. The anti-W5 movement's effect on Chinese community politics in other cities outside of Toronto and Vancouver could be another potential research prompt, and not much has been written about the anti-W5 activists in Montreal or Victoria.

Through my research assistantship with the Institute of Student Teaching and Research in Chinese Canadian Studies at UBC, I have had the opportunity to interview many activists who were involved in the protest campaign against a proposal by Beedie Development Group to build a gentrifying twelve-storey building in Vancouver's Chinatown. In 2017, the Vancouver City Council denied Beedie's application, as a result of the "overwhelming opposition from several generations of Vancouver residents."[393] Among this opposition were many young Chinese Canadians, mainly women, who became involved for their very first times in the community and, emboldened by their success with the campaign for 105 Keefer, have further dedicated themselves to other organizations and causes in Chinatown. These young progressive leaders

been influenced by those who came before them, and the lessons learned during the anti-W5 movement about grassroots organizing, coalition-building, and fighting for social justice have been passed down from the anti-W5 activists to the present. In them, I see the powerful legacy of "Campus Giveaway" and the anti-W5 movement: its inspiration for young Chinese Canadians to stand up and take on progressive causes, to challenge the status quo, and to make meaningful changes for their communities.

Notes

[1] "W5," History of Canadian Broadcasting, Canadian Communications Foundation, accessed January 23, 2021, https://www.broadcasting-history.ca/programming/television/w5.
[2] Pender Guy Radio Collective, ""W5" foreign student issues (side 1)," recorded January 4, 1980, MP3, AM1685-S02-2018-060.378.1, City of Vancouver Archives, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/w5-foreign-student-issues-side-1.
[3] Patrick Chen, *Patrick Chen to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission, February 29, 1980,* letter, Ramona Mar Collection.
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Appendix

Appendix A: Private Collection - Anti-W5 Movement Oral Histories (April 12, 2021)

Name	**Date**
Dora Nipp	February 4, 2021
Dr. Dinah Cheng	February 19, 2021
Cheuk Kwan	February 22, 2021
Ramona Mar	February 25, 2021
Dr. A. Wei Djao	March 1, 2021
Dr. Norman Kwan	March 8, 2021
Paul Chan	March 10, 2021
Dr. Winnie Ng	March 12, 2021
Dr. Joseph Y. K. Wong	March 15, 2021
Irene Chu	March 17, 2021
Dr. Lilian Ma	March 17, 2021
Kai-Wing Tsang	March 25, 2021

Appendix B: List of Archival Sources in Personal Collections

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
The Foreign Threat That Never Was! - Asianadian (Vol. 2, no. 3)	Cheuk Kwan	Magazine Article	Winter 1979	Cheuk Kwan	Report in *The Asianadian* on the beginning of the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5, the first community reactions, and the mission of the Committee.
Letter to Peter Tsang	Cheuk Kwan	Correspondence	January 14, 1980	Gordon Chong	Letter by Gordon Chong detailing his resignation from the CCCO as a result of the pursuit of legal action by the Ad Hoc Committee and the incompatibility of its actions with his personal philosophy.
Letter to Gordon Chong	Cheuk Kwan	Correspondence	January 22, 1980	Peter Tsang	Letter by Peter Tsang accepting Gordon Chong's resignation from the CCCO and the FCCP's rejection of the Ad Hoc Committee's pursuit of legal action.
Letter to Janly Pang	Cheuk Kwan	Correspondence	January 22, 1980	Peter Tsang	Letter by Peter Tsang notifying the Chairperson of the Legal Section of the FCCP that the CCCO acknowledged their rejection of legal action.
Letter to Peter Tsang	Cheuk Kwan	Correspondence	January 30, 1980	Gordon Chong	Letter by Gordon Chong rebuking Peter Tsang’s reply to his resignation.
W-5 "Apology" Rejected - The Dalhousie Gazette (Vol. 112, no. 24)	Cheuk Kwan	Newspaper Article	March 27, 1980	Paul Clark	Newspaper article about the anti-W5 response to the CTV March apology, with quotes from Anthony B. Chan.
The W5 Movement - Asianadian (Vol. 2, no. 4)	Cheuk Kwan	Magazine Article	Spring 1980	Cheuk Kwan	Report in *The Asianadian* on the anti-W5 movement after the CTV apology on April 16, 1980.
Political Activism and Chinese Canadians -- The W-5 Movement	Cheuk Kwan	Report	c. 1980	Cheuk Kwan	Summary and analysis of the anti-W5 movement for the CCNCE.

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
“Living and Growing in Canada”: A Chinese Canadian Perspective	Cheuk Kwan	Report	c. 1980	Ed. Irene Chu, C. K. Fong and Jew May seung	Reports on the proceedings of the provincial conference of the CCCO held in Toronto from November 10-11, 1979. Includes a point-by-point rebuttal of the “Campus Giveaway” transcript and SUBMISSION TO CRTC ON MATTERS OF ‘CANADIAN CONTENT’ AND ‘BALANCED PROGRAMMING’ - LETTER TO J. G. PATENAUDE by Irene Chu.
The W5 Legacy	Cheuk Kwan	Recollection	c. 1999	Cheuk Kwan	Personal recollection about the anti-W5 movement for the Ontario Human Rights Commission.
My Recollections from the Anti-W5 Campaign	Cheuk Kwan	Recollection	c. January 2020	Cheuk Kwan	Personal recollections about the anti-W5 movement and its legacy.
一月二十六日的重要性 （一九七九年 / 一九八零年 對抗 W-5 運動 概览）	Cheuk Kwan	Recollection	c. January 2020	Irene Chu and Lilian Ma	Chinese-language recollections by Irene Chu and Lilian Ma of the anti-W5 movement. Includes Joint Statement by CTV and Ad Hoc Committee of The CCCO Against W5 and the SUBMISSION TO CRTC ON MATTERS OF ‘CANADIAN CONTENT’ AND ‘BALANCED PROGRAMMING’ - LETTER TO J. G. PATENAUDE by Irene Chu.
Letter to the Editors	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	October 5, 1979	Dinah Cheng	Letter to the Editors detailing the criticisms of "Campus Giveaway" by the UofT CSA.
Letter to the Complaint Bureau, CRTC	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	October 11, 1979	UTCPS, UTCSA, ECCSA, SCCSA and UTCESA	Letter to the CRTC from the CSAs requesting an investigation into the misrepresentation of ethnic Chinese students in CTV's “Campus Giveaway.”
"Campus Giveaway" 5 - A Meeting in response to CTV	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Poster	October 18, 1979	UTCPS, UTCSA, ECCSA, SCCSA and UTCESA	Poster from CSAs regarding a meeting about CTV's "Campus Giveaway" at 8PM on October 18, 1979 in Cumberland Hall.

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
Core Committee and Subcommittee Directory	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Directory	November 2, 1979	華裔加拿大學生及畢業生聯會 (ACCSG)	Directory of the Core Committee and Subcommittees of students involved in the ACCSG.
Letter to Donald G. Cameron	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	November 5, 1979	Elizabeth Paterson	Letter from Director of the International Student Centre Elizabeth Paterson to Vice-President of News, Features & Information Programming at CTV Donald G. Paterson refuting his response to her first letter, which complained about the portrayal of foreign students in "Campus Giveaway."
Notice of Intent for CTV Television Network Ltd., CFTO TV Ltd., Helen Hutchinson, Murray Chercover, and Gordon Henderson	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	November 8, 1979	Pomerant & Devlin	Notice of intent from the plaintiffs to sue CTV for libel and slander.
A Provincial Conference "Living & Growing in Canada" A Chinese Canadian Perspective	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Pamphlet	c. November 1979	CCCO	Pamphlet with the schedule and objectives of the CCCO "Living & Growing in Canada" conference.
留學生何罪? CTV 有責! Protest W-5 Racism	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Pamphlet	c. November 1979	International Committee Against Racism and International Students Association	English- and Chinese-language posters detailing grievances from the International Committee Against Racism against "Campus Giveaway" and advertising a forum at the UofT St. George ISC at 4PM on November 14, 1979.
CSAs to Students	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Poster	c. November 1979	華裔加拿大學生及畢業生聯會 (ACCSG)	Chinese-language open letter written by the ACCSG advertising a 7-10PM meeting at the Cecil Community Centre about the W5 issue.

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
Letter to Dinah Cheng	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	December 17, 1979	Joseph B. Pomerant	Letter from Joseph Pomerant outlining his potential honorarium and his favourable legal opinion for the student lawsuit against CTV.
安省華聯對抗 W5 行動委員會舉辦 "校園大平賣“ 公開討論會	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Poster	c. December 1979	Ad-Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5 (安省華聯對抗 W5 行動委員會）	Chinese-language poster advertising an open forum about Campus Giveaway organized by the Ad Hoc Committee, taking place on December 19, 1979 at the Cecil Community Centre (思豪社區中心).
Claims and Facts About W5 'Campus Giveaway'	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Position Paper	c. 1979	Ad Hoc Committee of CCCO Against W5	Transcript and point-by-point refutation of each claim of “Campus Giveaway.”
請支持！ 請捐助!	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Poster	c. 1979	Ad Hoc Committee of CCCO Against W5	Chinese-language poster requesting donations for the Ad Hoc Committee of CCCO Against W5.
Stop Irresponsible Journalism! / W5 “校園大平賣” 事件	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Pamphlet	c. January 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5	English- and Chinese-language pamphlet advertising the January 26, 1980 rally in Toronto.
Letter to the FCCP	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	February 8, 1980	Forty Chinese Canadian students and professionals	Open letter refuting the grievances which Dr. C. Y. Yeung aired in a January 15, 1980 open letter that withdrew the FCCP from the Ad Hoc Committee.
Letter to Jenny Lee	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	February 14, 1980	Yunos Timol	Letter to Jenny Lee confirming that Pomerant & Devlin no longer acts on behalf of the student plaintiffs.
請支持繼續對抗 W5 的行動!	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Report	March 21, 1980	Ad-Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5 (安省華聯對抗 W5 行動委員會）	Chinese-language report summarizes the Ad Hoc Committee's March meeting with CTV, their March 16 apology, and the reasons for the Committee's rejection of the March 16 apology. It also indicates that a lawyer, Ian Scott, was hired on March 19 to express the Committee's dissatisfaction with the March 16 apology to CTV.

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
"團結一致 努力不懈 继续行動 對抗 W-5"	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Poster	March 28, 1980	Ad-Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5 (安省華聯對抗 W5 行動委員會）	Chinese-language poster rejecting the March 16, 1980 apology from CTV.
Windsor W5 News: Objectives of the Windsor W5 Committee	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Position Paper	c. March 1980	Windsor W5 Committee	Position paper detailing the objectives, activities, and funding of the Windsor W5 Committee.
Joint Statement by CTV and Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario Against W5	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Position Paper	April 16, 1980	CTV and the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5	Joint statement announcing that a settlement had been reached between CTV and the Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5.
A Statement Issued Today, April 16, 1980 by Murray H. Chercover	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Position Paper	April 16, 1980	Murray H. Chercover	Statement of apology from CTV President and Managing Director Murray H. Chercover.
W5 Diary of Jenny Lee	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Diary	September 30, 1979 to April 20, 1980	Jenny Lee	Diary entries that Jenny Lee wrote from September 30, 1979 to April 20, 1980.
Letter to the Students	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	May 14, 1980	R. Ross Wells	Letter from Pomerant & Devlin prompting the student plaintiffs for further instructions as to how to proceed with the lawsuit.
Letter to Jenny Lee	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	June 17, 1980	R. Ross Wells	Letter from Pomerant & Devlin prompting Jenny Lee for her response regarding the lawsuit.
Letter to the Students	Dinah Cheng and Jenny Lee	Correspondence	July 18, 1980	R. Ross Wells	Letter from Pomerant & Devlin confirming the discontinuing of the student lawsuit and the payment of the $100 retainer.
DEAR READER	Ramona Mar	Newspaper Article	November 3, 1979	Roy Mah	Editorial by Roy Mah in the *Chinatown News* about "Campus Giveaway."

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
W5 program – AUCC objects strongly to 'inaccuracy and distortion offered in the guise of truth'	Ramona Mar	Newspaper Article	c. 1980	Alan Earp	Statement by Alan Earp, President of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, refuting the claims of "Campus Giveaway."
Stop Irresponsible Journalism!	Ramona Mar	Pamphlet	c. January 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CCCO Against W5	Pamphlet advertising the January 26, 1980 rally in Toronto.
Position Paper of The Ad Hoc Committee of CBA Against W5 Programme	Ramona Mar	Position Paper	c. January 1980	Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver	Position paper of the CBA denouncing "Campus Giveaway", listing its demands to CTV and announcing the formation of the Vancouver Ad Hoc Committee in January 20, 1980.
stop discrimination in the media!	Ramona Mar	Pamphlet	c. February 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA Against the W5 Program and Patrick Chen	Promotional pamphlet (English and Chinese) for the All-Candidates Meeting at the Marco Polo restaurant at 1PM on February 10, 1980, including the demands of the CBA.
W-5: AN ISSUE OF RACISM	Ramona Mar	Position Paper	c. February 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA Against the W5 Program	Position paper promoting meetings at the CBA (108 E Pender) on March 6, 7, 8, 1980 which will screen "Campus Giveaway". Announces informal meetings with CRTC.
Letter to the CRTC	Ramona Mar	Correspondence	February 29, 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA Against the W5 Program and Patrick Chen	Letter to CRTC filing a formal complaint about CTV for "Campus Giveaway", including 8,000 signatures for the petition against the program in Vancouver and a point-by-point refutation.
Claims and Facts About W5 'Campus Giveaway'	Ramona Mar	Correspondence	February 29, 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA Against the W5 Program and Patrick Chen	Attachment to the Letter to the CRTC by the CBA and Patrick Chen, including the transcript and point-by-point refutation of each claim of "Campus Giveaway."

Source Title	Owner	Type	Date	Author	Description
The Ad-Hoc Committee Against the W5 Program (Vancouver) Position Paper on the March 16, 1980 Statement by W5	Ramona Mar	Position Paper	c. March 1980	Ad Hoc Committee of the CBA Against the W5 Program	Position paper rejecting the March 16, 1980 apology from CTV.
中流 Mainstream (Vol. 2, no. 2)	Ramona Mar	Magazine	April 1980	Ed. Suzanna Seto and Kai Chan	Chinese and English. Includes reports on Pender Guy, Ching-Ming Festival, C.C.C. News, Income Tax Service, Bamboo Brew, W5 Protest, Update Report on Stopping NFB Film.
W-5's Campus Giveaway Faces More Pressure	Ramona Mar	Newspaper Article	April 18, 1980	Ramona Mar	Article in the *Chinatown News* about the March 16, 1980 apology and the upcoming rally in Vancouver at the Carnegie Community Centre on April 20, 1980.

Appendix C: Author's Transcript of CTV W5 "Campus Giveaway"

Helen Hutchinson sitting in a newsroom

Helen Hutchinson: Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful. Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the tuition — but he still couldn't get into university in his chosen courses because a foreign student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country, but hardly anyone wants to talk about it.

It's not that the public hasn't been given the chance to debate the foreign student problem. The statistics that show it is a problem aren't easy to find. Here are some: at least 100,000 foreign students in our schools, at least 1 out of 10 in BC, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia are foreign, and the ratio is much higher in Ontario and Quebec. And at least 20 percent of kids in the high technology courses, engineering, computer science, are foreign, while these courses are turning down thousands of young Canadians.

Phone rings, scene shows Barbara Allan working at her father's pharmacy

Helen Hutchinson: Barbara Allan has been working on and off in her father's St. Catharines, Ontario pharmacy since she was twelve. She graduated from high school with 79.5 percent; good marks, but not high enough to get into pharmacy at the University of Toronto. When Barbara saw the pharmacy class, she couldn't believe it.

Scene changes to the pharmacy class, with six Chinese students in the first and second row.

Helen Hutchinson: Although only 165 out of 1000 applicants qualify, students from overseas make up 10 to 30 percent of the class. The difference lies in whether you believe the official statistics or the estimates of the students.

The camera zooms into the faces of Chinese students

Barbara Allan: All these people are in, and you're just - you're not getting a seat, you're not getting the education you feel like you should be, because the classes are just packed with foreign students. When someone talks about doing something for the longest time, and they work for it, and someone else says 'oh no, I'm sorry, you can't do this', it hurts, it hurts a lot.

Helen Hutchinson: Barbara is studying Honours History now at the suburban University of Toronto campus, and thinking about going into law. But she still thinks about what she really wanted to do.

Barbara Allan: You go through the nurse stage, the secretary stage, all little girls want to be this, but I always wanted to be a pharmacist. I mean, what can I say, I drew pictures of being a pharmacist when I was little. It was always something I wanted to be.

Helen Hutchinson: Barb Allan isn't a racist; it's the policies she's fighting, not the participants, and she isn't alone. A university admissions officer says privately that Canada is being suckered as a nation, by countries which won't pay for education themselves. Many professors complain Canada is not only gambling its future, it's giving it away. To use Barbara's own words, she says she was done in by the system.

And something should be done about it

Barbara Allan: They talk about minorities in Canada, alright, so that you want to give the other guy a chance too, but the journey begins at home, doesn't it? You have to work within the country first and build up your own country, and then you can work with other people.

Chinese music plays in the background

Helen Hutchinson: We're not saying we should rid our universities of outside influences; we are saying that as long as qualified Canadian students can't get into school, the foreign student program has gone too far. And make no mistake — this is not charity or legitimate foreign aid. Study after study shows that we are educating the children of the wealthy, and 60 percent of the students are from Southeast Asia, 30 percent from Hong Kong, places which apply strict codes on education.

Here's how the problem is growing. Students come to Canada to repeat their final years of high school. Many go to 5000 dollars-a-year private schools. Across the country, thirty such schools have been established to serve the foreign influx. The students enter on special visas, but easily become landed immigrants if they need to, in order to get into courses which restrict enrollment. Many take courses they've already taken at home, getting excellent marks. Canada is the only country we know of which accepts students so easily as immigrants, and educators tell us most are temporary immigrants: they're here to get a university education, learn English, and leave.

Scene of a class with Asian students

Helen Hutchinson: Last year, every student from this school went directly into an applied science or business course at college or university, so courses such as computer science are dominated by foreign students. At least one student in five, often more, is foreign, while we don't have enough computer scientists in Canada to meet our demands.

Scene transitions to first-year medical students; camera zooms in on Asian faces

These are first-year medical students registering at the University of Toronto. Thousands of Canadian students who can't get into medicine are forced to study in private foreign schools, while in Canadian schools, almost 400 students are foreign.

Two Asian students walk across campus in engineering jackets

Engineering and applied science: 20 percent of students are foreign, and there are twice as many visa students as landed immigrants — students who must leave Canada. So we're not only exporting knowledge and technology, but engineers who will go home and compete with our own industries.

By teaching the elites of other lands, we relieve those countries of the burden of supporting schools of their own. Only 5 percent of students in education are foreign, so few are going back to contribute to education at home.

John Helliwell: I agree, this is a preponderance, you know, there's a significant number — a very significant number — in courses like engineering, like business and commerce, yeah, that's part of the problem.

Helen Hutchinson: John Helliwell is the foreign affairs director of the Canadian Bureau for International Education. He calls himself a lobbyist for the foreign students. But when he looks over the more than 100,000 foreign students on our campuses, when he sees that bulletin boards in science departments are bilingual, he still refuses to admit the obvious effect of the influx.

Helen Hutchinson, to Helliwell: How can you be so sure that some Canadian kid hasn't missed a place at one of these universities or colleges that's been filled by a foreign student?

John Helliwell: Well I have — nobody's ever given me evidence that that has happened.

Helen Hutchinson: It wasn't hard for us to find Barbara Allan, and she knows of others with first class high school marks who have been refused admission to university. So do we. And so do professors and admissions personnel who complain bitterly to us off the record, but refuse to talk publicly, because they're afraid of being called racist.

But money talks. Barbara's father, Robert Allan, is paying taxes to support the student who took his daughter's place in school. There are no education taxes in Hong Kong — none. There are here.

Scene shifts to Robert Allan in his pharmacy

Robert Allan: Over 50 percent of my property tax dollar goes toward education, I know that.

Helen Hutchinson: Robert Allan is hardly a racist. He's an understandably upset parent and concerned taxpayer

Robert Allan: I see that the government is giving grants of millions and millions of dollars to universities, which is fine, but I feel that our own people should have preference over the use of those tax dollars rather than other people.

Don McInnis: When I was President of the college, various pharmacists have contacted me over the fact that their sons or daughters couldn't get into pharmacy.

Helen Hutchinson: Don McInnis has been on many school admissions boards. He's angry about the system and its silent critics.

Don McInnis: The anger is focused on the fact that here codes that are for laudable purposes, to help protect minority groups from blatant discrimination, is having an entirely opposite effect, and, in fact, is discriminating now against the students of Ontario, citizens themselves. And this is what makes me so angry, that nothing has been done, or they say nothing could be done, I don't believe that, and something can and should be done.

Helen Hutchinson: The government-sponsored Canadian Bureau for International Education says it's good for us to allow foreign students into Canada. First they bring in money, and it's true they bring in money for their tuition and their keep. But remember tuition only accounts for 20 percent of the entire cost of educating a student. The rest comes from grants and our taxes.

A seemingly more important rationale is that it's part of our foreign aid. But to us, the time and money spent educating the elite of the Third World here can be better spent helping the needy there, the poor, the illiterate.

Cantonese skits and cultural activities are shown, with Chinese drum sounds in the background

Helen Hutchinson: It's also argued that foreign students will go back home and trade with Canada, but this has never been the case before. Or that Canadian students will benefit from contact with other cultures, but there are so many Oriental foreign students that they rarely mix with their Canadian classmates. It's as if there are two campuses at Canadian universities: foreign and domestic.

UTCSA Orientation Program crowd is shown clapping for the performers

Helen Hutchinson: Certainly those Chinese still attract a full house, but not one Canadian student attended.

Female Student: I went to the University of Manitoba last year and it's just like 70 percent foreign students.

Male Student: Foreign students? A lot.

Male Student: Maybe it's little more than there should be.

Female Student: If people who want to get in aren't being accepted because of foreign students, or being accepted over them, then I can get that.

John Helliwell: We certainly are aware of Canadian students complaining.

Helen Hutchinson: We don't argue with John Helliwell when he praises the diligence of foreign students. But we do when he demeans Canadian kids.

John Helliwell: Well, should we encourage the substandard Canadian, or should we encourage the Canadian to excel by increasing the stimulus around them?

Helen Hutchinson: Substandard Canadians? Reactions such as that inspired Barbara Allan to talk with us, and almost sent a first-class Honours student to the United States, a country which allows only a third per capita the number of foreign students than we do.

Barbara Allan: I considered going to the University of Buffalo for pharmacy. I applied. I looked over everything and I realized that I haven't even less chance of getting in there than at U of T, and they won't accept foreign students until very late and I'd be a foreign student.

Chinese music plays in the background; Chinese student dancers are shown

Helen Hutchinson: We estimate it will cost Canadians a billion dollars to educate these foreign students. Kids whose families still abroad, escape much of the education burden in their own countries. One Hong Kong boy, studying at community college, said he liked studying in Canada because it's so cheap. We think the cost, both in money and the futures of our kids, is much too high.